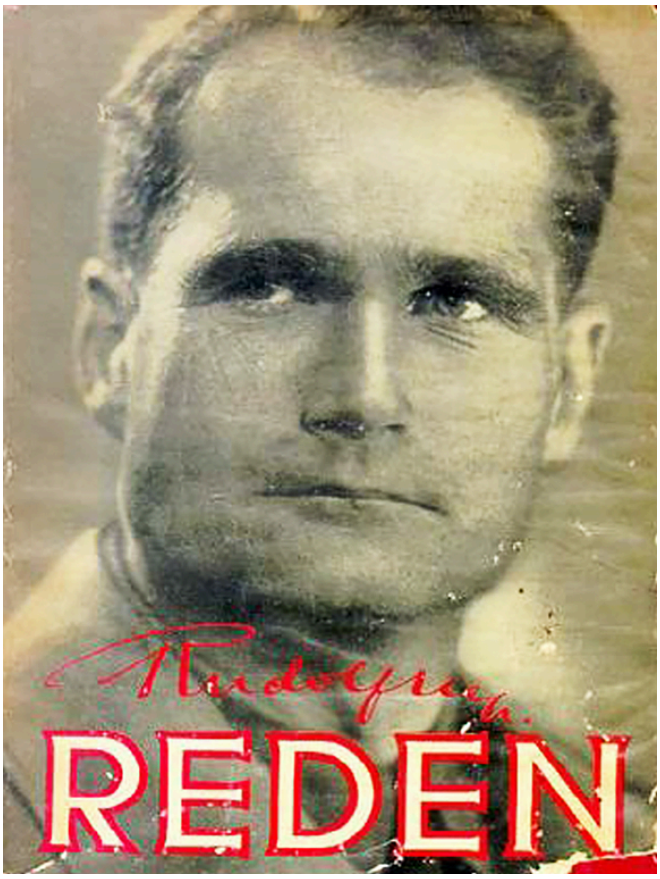
Rudolf Hess - the Deputy Führer
A Biography and Collection of Speeches



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To my old comrades-in-arms

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“Rudolf Hess - Deputy to the Fuhrer”

Rudolf Hess as a shock troop leader in the Carpathians

In November 1921, a German expatriate living in Spain posed a challenging question: “What Kind of Man is He Who Will Lead Germany to Greatness?” A student from Munich won first prize - he had been wounded in the fighting to liberate the Bavarian capital from the Spartacist hordes, and now wrote down his longing in these words:

“The dictators of the past were unable to keep their peoples at the top: power became an end in itself for them, and when it was taken away, they perished.
The man who will lead Germany back to greatness is also a dictator, but in his sacred love for his country, he will keep the welfare and future greatness of his country as his sole goal, above all his own ambition.”

“We do not yet know when he will intervene to save us,” the then twenty-seven year old student confessed at the time, “but millions feel that he is coming” - the man who wrote this still carries in his heart a belief in Germany that he had rescued from the barrage of propaganda before the revolution.
At the time he wrote these words, he was under the influence of a man to whom he would henceforth devote his life - a year and a half before he wrote these sentences for the prize question, he had attended one of those NSDAP speaking evenings, of which there were so many in Munich in the post-revolutionary weeks, and had condensed his impression into these words of strong conviction:

“If anyone can do it, it will be this unknown Hitler, whom I heard yesterday, who will raise Germany up again!”

It was May 1920, and the man who spoke these words was one of the young members of the front-line generation: his name was Rudolf Hess.
For over a dozen years since then, he has chained his fate to that of the Führer, yet few knew about the man whom Adolf Hitler appointed as his deputy in the party leadership in April of this year - no one talked about him, his name was hardly ever mentioned, he was rarely seen in pictures, and no one ever heard him give a speech - until the Führer himself brought him into the public eye. Now, suddenly, this slender figure with gray-blue eyes and bushy eyebrows stands at the forefront of political events.
Only the Old Guard of the NSDAP knew about him, as he himself belonged to it: the Obergruppenführer who had already found his way into the party in 1920, who was one of the first SA men, and who suffered his fourth wound in the great battle at the Hofbräuhaus; the Old Guard also knew what the movement owned to this man, who, in the position of Hitler's private secretary and personal adjutant, which was not really clear to the public, had to keep the Führer's hands free for bigger tasks and stood in the middle of the party's enormous apparatus as the calming influence in the whirlwind of political events.

In Wunsiedel, his father's hometown

The son of a German expatriate, Rudolf Hess was born on April 26th, 1894 in Alexandria, Egypt; his father's family came from Wunsiedel in Franconia, and his mother's family came from Thuringia.
Rudolf Hess himself was initially educated in Alexandria until the age of fourteen, then attended the well-known Pädagogium in Godesberg, which he left after completing his one-year exams, before attending business school in Neuchâtel and completing a commercial apprenticeship in Hamburg.
His inclinations led him to mathematics and physics, and in keeping with tradition, he prepared to take over the business founded by his grandfather - thus Rudolf Hess became a businessman.
When war broke out, he volunteered for service; he went to the Western Front with the 1st Bavarian Infantry Regiment, and soon the name of the young war volunteer was mentioned with recognition in the regimental orders.

Wounded in 1916 and barely recovering, he was sent to Romania, where he took part in the advance to the Sereth; in 1917, as a shock troop leader, he was slightly wounded in the Carpathian Mountains, and then again with a serious lung wound - however, despite this, he pulls himself together and finally achieved his long-awaited goal: in the fall of 1918, he joined Jagdstaffel 35 as a pilot, just able to earn his field pilot's badge - then came the collapse, and a bitter end was faced as he returned home.

Rudolf Hess as a fighter pilot on the Western Front

Hess then returned to his commercial profession while also studying in Munich.
He became a member of the then much-discussed Thule Society with Freiherr von Sebottendorf, where the threads of those few national circles that were determined to break the rule of Eisner, Leviné, and their comrades came together - one morning, while distributing leaflets while the Thule Society convention is already meeting to make the final preparations for the intervention, he saw a truck driving away with his friends; they were brutally murdered by the red mob, while Epp's cannons are already booming outside the gates of Munich.
Once again, joining the fight, Hess stands on the front, and once again, he is wounded; a shot in the leg is the memory he takes away from the liberation of Munich. Only by chance did he – like Sebottendorff – survive.

It is also at this time that his future destiny is decided - he found his way to the NSDAP, and soon he is standing in the ranks as one of the first members of the SA.
Adolf Hitler holds one of his first large rallies in the Hofbräukeller - there, the Reds open fire with beer mugs, and shots are fired; it almost seems as if the rally has already been broken up before a few determined men in field gray uniforms fight their way to the front - screams echo, curses erupt, and chair legs crash to the floor - and here, in the midst of it all, Rudolf Hess collapses with a serious head injury. The Reds flee - “The meeting continues!” Hess has fought for the floor with his comrades, including Adolf Hitler.
In 1923 we see Hess again, this time as leader of the SA student group; he arrests the Bavarian ministers, then wanders around the Bavarian mountains as a fugitive for months before turning himself in to the police two days before the People's Courts are abolished; for seven and a half months, he is imprisoned

with the Führer in a bare cell at Landsberg am Lech Fortress until he is released on New Year's Eve 1924; these seven and a half months seal a bond between the Führer and his loyal follower, born in hours of need, which led to the days of the seizure of power.
After his release, Hess gave up his studies and became an assistant to the well-known geopolitician Major General Professor Haushofer, before he soon left the post when Adolf Hitler called him and made him his private secretary in the spring of 1925 - it was here, in the quiet of their daily work together, that Rudolf Hess grew ever closer to Hitler's thoughts and intellectual world.
Others advanced in the party, entering the public eye and taking up public office; meanwhile, he remained quietly in the background, reserved, unnamed, and yet no less influential, for the man who once pressed the control stick his the aircraft over the English front, who crashed to the ground in the Carpathian Mountains with a ruptured lung and later helped liberate Munich under Epp, had long since become a power factor in the NSDAP - he was Adolf Hitler's right-hand man, and he thrived in this role.

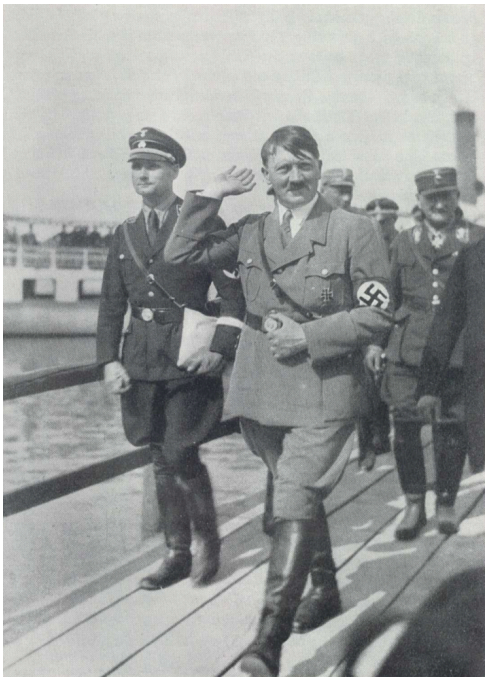
Someone who knows him well praises Hess, saying he has the instinct to remain silent at the right time; he has never interrupted anyone in conversation, but has disarmed many with his soulful gaze, because everyone senses the selflessness of this man of few words, and everyone admires his unshakeable objectivity, which is already proverbial throughout the NSDAP; everyone who has ever met him senses the self-control of a man who serves his idea and his Führer with the same devotion and natural willingness to make sacrifices that made him march for Germany:

"I see it as my task to influence the life of the party in the spirit of Adolf Hitler, to forge close ties between all National Socialists, to cultivate the traditions of the SA and SS, the Hitler Youth and the party organization, and to promote new ideas from within the party."

- this is what Rudolf Hess has declared in recent days.
And with his characteristic modesty and clarity of character, he once again professed his allegiance to the Führer, whose representative he considers it his duty to be; these words are also typical of Rudolf Hess: clear, simple, and determined:

"I have only one wish: to prove myself worthy of his trust!"

“What Kind of Man is He Who Will Lead Germany to Greatness?”



The Führer and his Deputy

In November 1921, a German in Spain organized a competition on this very topic; Rudolf Hess, then a student, won first prize for the following essay, in which he talked about Adolf Hitler without mentioning his name outright.

“If we want to predict what is likely to happen in the future, we must look back at the past, for history repeats itself in broad strokes - similar illnesses are followed by similar types of men as doctors.

What is ailing the German people?
Even before 1914, its body was not healthy: intellectuals and manual laborers were hostile toward each other instead of respecting each other, and intellectuals looked down on manual laborers with a certain arrogance; instead of providing them with leaders from among their own ranks, they left them to their own devices, or even to seducers who were alien to the people and who skillfully exploited existing injustices to widen the divide; this had terrible consequences when, after the enormous exertions of four years of war, nerves suddenly gave way - the collapse was primarily the work of the same seducers and their helpers among the enemy.
Since then, Germany has been writhing in fever; it can barely hold itself upright - years of blood loss as a result of the Treaty of Versailles; a wasteful state administration – empty coffers; the wild printing of banknotes – grotesque currency devaluation. Among the people, there are glittering celebrations alongside screaming misery, feasting alongside starving youths, usury alongside honest poverty; the last of its strength is gone, tensions are at their highest, waiting to erupt at any moment into looting, murder, and

riots; those who want to help are persecuted while criminals are celebrated, and at the top is a parliament that talks and talks, a "government" that is worthy of this whole.

Let us look back: criminals with blind masses behind them, looting and burning—dancing orgies—blood and filth—the destruction of national wealth—assignats—parliaments of mere speeches: the French Revolution was under the rule of the mob. The result from the confusion: Napoleon as dictator.
When the Roman Republic was in danger of suffocating in the swamp, Caesar came; in our day, Mussolini has saved the rotten Italian state from Bolshevism, which victoriously raised red flags over Milan's workshops.
The chaos of sick popular rule gives birth to the dictator - so it will be in Germany.

The dictators of the past were, of course, unable to keep their peoples at the forefront: power became an end in itself for them, tearing them away from the people before they perished; the man who is leading Germany back to the top will also a dictator, but in his sacred love for his country, he will keep the welfare and future greatness of his country as his sole goal, above all his own ambition; he will bring Germany back to its senses, like a doctor treats a half-mad person—with brutal force, if necessary.
The foundation of all national greatness is national consciousness, the will of a people to assert itself in the world - Napoleon found a powerful sense of nationalism during the French Revolution, and this German dictator must first reawaken and cultivate it.
Profound knowledge in all areas of state life and history, the ability to learn from it, a belief in the purity of his own cause and in ultimate victory, and an indomitable willpower that gives him the power of captivating speeches that makes the masses cheer him; for the sake of saving the nation, he does not shy away from using those weapons of the enemy, demagoguery, slogans, street parades, etc, for where all authority has disappeared, populism alone creates authority - this was demonstrated by Mussolini: the deeper the dictator is originally rooted in the broad masses, the better he understands how to treat them psychologically, the less mistrust the workers will show him, and the more followers he will gain from these most energetic ranks of the people. He himself has nothing in common with the masses, because he is a complete personality, like every great man; the power of personality radiates something that captivates those around him and draws ever wider circles - the people crave a true leader, free from old party squabbles, a pure leader with inner truthfulness.
Through the power of his speech, he leads the workers, like Mussolini, to ruthless nationalism, shattering the international socialist Marxist worldview; in its place, he puts the national socialist idea. To this end, he educates manual workers and the so-called intelligentsia: the common interest takes precedence over self-interest, first the nation, then the individual; this union of the national and the social is the pivot of our time, just like the reforms of Baron von Stein[1] before the Wars of Liberation; the leader must take up the healthy intellectual trends of his time and, having condensed them into a compelling idea, hurl them back out among the masses.

"Great political passion is a precious treasure; the dull hearts of most people offer little room for it - blessed is the generation upon which a pressing necessity imposes a sublime political idea, one that is grand and simple, understandable to all, and compels every other idea of the time to serve it."

[1] Referring to Heinrich Friedrich Karl vom und zum Stein, a German statesman who introduced the Prussian reforms that would eventually lead to the reunification of Germany.

- Treitschke[2]

From the avalanche of supporters (see the Fascists), he draws his fighting force - more important than their numbers is their determination, for history is made by energetic minorities in the hands of daring individuals.

"Dare to begin everything that must be done! That is the greatness and hallmark of leadership; anyone can easily dare to follow through."

- Stammler

The leader proves his courage at every opportunity; this gives this organized power blind devotion, and through it, he achieves dictatorship - when necessity dictates, he does not shy away from shedding blood. Great questions have always been decided by blood and iron - the question here is thus: downfall or rise. Parliament may continue to chatter—but the man must act.
Now it becomes apparent that, despite his many speeches, he knew how to remain silent; his own supporters will perhaps be the most disappointed.
Positions are filled according to people's abilities, not according to "connections"; his sole focus is on achieving his goal, even if it means trampling over his closest friends - after gaining power, the true dictator is acceptable to only a few if he serves the good of the whole.

"A leader must not want to please - those who want to please are weak before those whose favor they live on; those who want to show the way must set the standard of favor themselves."

- Stammler

For the sake of the great and ultimate goal, he must be able to take it upon himself to temporarily appear to the majority as a traitor to the nation.
The thriftiness of the Frederician era becomes a fundamental principle - state-owned enterprises are relieved of their excess civil servants, and the generous organizer directs all the freed-up resources toward value-creating work. Now, no less than during the war, the nation's very existence is at stake, yet even then, millions were able to perform unfamiliar work - a year of labor service, as in Bulgaria, ensures the training of young people as long as universal conscription is not possible.
He is a master of journalism; with his boundless energy, he educates the people politically and morally by every conceivable means - the entire de-Jewified press, cinema, etc. are subordinate to the dictator.

The legislator, acting with deterrent severity, does not shy away from punishing with death those who expose the best parts of the people to hunger, profiteers and usurers - speculation on the stock exchange with the nation's assets is prevented, and those who seduce the people are expelled from the country.
A terrible punishment is meted out to those who betrayed the nation before, during, and after the war; in every direction, thorough work is done: "Freedom and the kingdom of heaven are not achieved by half measures."

[2] Heinrich von Treitschke, a German historian and nationalist who was very influential among nationalist groups in Germany.

Despite all his harshness, however, his concern extends to all sections of the population - through home ownership laws and increased individual participation in the fruits of labor, he stands up for the lower classes, but at the same time keeps them in check with an iron fist.
He remains free from the influence of Jews and Jewish-infested Freemasons; if he uses them, his powerful personality must always be able to override their influence.
The fate of a people is determined by politics as well as by the economy; all internal reforms and economic measures are ineffective as long as the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain remain in force.
The politically and geographically educated leader has a comprehensive worldview; he knows the peoples and influential individuals, and, depending on the need, he is capable of trampling with cuirassier boots or of tying threads as far as the Pacific Ocean with carefully sensitive fingers.

The most important task is to restore Germany's reputation in the world - he knows what unpredictability means, knows that the old flag, under which millions bled to death in faith in their people, must fly high again, that the fight against the lie of guilt must be fought with all means; a strong sense of national identity within and a belief in oneself strengthens a people just as much as the restoration of honor abroad.
Trust and respect from other countries means, economically, the rise of the mark (see also Italy's currency after Mussolini's rise to power), and trust and respect from other countries means, politically, the ability to form alliances - either way, the treaties of enslavement will fall, and one day the new Greater Germany will stand, encompassing all those of German blood.

The last and not easiest task is to anchor this new creation against the storms of the future; the structure must correspond to the inner essence of the German people, and that is why the master builder also keeps in touch with the spiritual life of the nation.
He seeks his relaxation in the art and literature of his people - creative figures are artists by nature.
Work must not be tailored to the towering stature of its builder, otherwise the whole will falter upon his passing, as did the state of Frederick and Bismarck; new independent personalities will lead Germania, those who are now back in the saddle, and they will flourish under the dictator - that is why he accomplishes his last great deed: instead of savoring his power to the full, he lays it down and stands by as a loyal Ekkehardt.[3]

Thus we have the image of the dictator: sharp of mind, clear and true, passionate and yet controlled, cold and cool, purposeful and deliberate in his decisions, unrestrained in their swift implementation, ruthless towards himself and others, mercilessly harsh and yet soft in his love for his people, tireless in his work, wields an iron fist in a velvet glove, and capable of ultimately defeating himself.
We do not yet know when he, this “man,” will come to the rescue - but millions feel that he is coming.
The day will come of which a poet sings:

“Storm, storm, storm,
Ring the bells from tower to tower,
Ring the men, the old men, the boys,
Ring the sleepers in their rooms,

[3] Referring to Ekkehard I the Elder, a monk and intellectual leader of his time who stood aside when offered more power but helped to choose another man in his stead.

Ring the girls down the stairs,
Ring the mothers away from their cradles,
Let them roar and ring out in the air,
Race, race in the thunder of the night,
Ring the dead out of their graves,
Germany, awake!*"*

- Dietrich Eckart

"Before Verdun!"

Written in Landsberg Fortress on August 2nd, 1924, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War.

For months now,
The battle has raged in the semicircle around Verdun.
Along the entire front, a wild drumfire rages,
or rather,
it howls like an unearthly hurricane,
in which the single blow can hardly be heard.

East of Douaumont and north of Thiaumont,
the First Battalion of the First Regiment
is already being deployed for the second time
in this terrible struggle.

It's night as is black as pitch,
and cold rain pours down incessantly.
In their sunken, mud-filled trenches,
the hardened old fighters cower.
In between them, soft, milky-faced boys,
who just a few days before,
adorned with flowers and singing,
marched through the streets of their hometown.

In the bright light of the flares,
the boys stare
distractedly at their comrades,
who are lying so eerily and motionless in the trench
and on the berm,
so waxy and pale,
with traces of blood on their scuffed, clay-yellow jackets.
The stench of decomposition,
pungent swaths of gas and ecrasite[4] *shells,*
sting the shivering figures.
One or the other sinks,
leaning on his friend,
despite the crashing shells,
into a deathly heavy sleep.

Many a brain is shot through
by the wild succession of images
of the day before yesterday:
the twenty-eight-year-old in the middle of the marching column,
the man was blown to bits!
The piercing screams and the muffled groans
of this badly wounded comrade,
with whom one could not linger,
because duty called to move forward.

[4] An explosive material.

The Chauffour Gorge, the gorge of the dead
with its thousands of ghostly figures,
lying, sitting, kneeling,
leaning against trees,
waiting for the day when they
will find peace in the ground.
For no one dare
show them their last love,
without soon sharing their fate,
in the hellfire of these hellish canyons…

Now dawn is breaking.
The men stir
and stretch their weary bones.

The old keep a sharper watch.
In the first light of dawn, they recognize
the honeycomb trenches in front of them,
the target of the charge in just a few hours.
On the horizon,
the armored turrets of Fort Thiaumont rise up against the red sky.
Through all the whistling, booming, crashing
of the bombardment on both sides,
the very thickest, heaviest chunks howl into the fort –
thunderclaps –
the earth seems to heave,
and one black trail of smoke after another rises sky-high.

With shining eyes,
the men in the trench
see this spectacle,
and new strength flows into them.
"Hey, Frenchman, that's a nasty morning greeting!
You there must die so that we can live,
we and all our poor people."

Then there is a new creeping and groaning in the air,
and hair-raising over drawn-in heads,
one twenty-one year old snarls at the enemy trenches.
With a hellish crash, stones, beams
and human bodies whirl through the air.
It is the drumbeat of the assault that now begins.
The answer comes from the other side – not bad!

Dust, smoke and a single wall of fire
surrounds the gray figures, waiting.
Now there is a flash in the trench itself,
the German volleys hit the middle of it!
"Too short - too short!"
The bright green rounds fly high.

In vain!

More and more volleys follow,
and more and more bodies twitch, hit hard.
Death, the great unknown,
keeps stamping up and down the trench.
Even his old acquaintances
feel their nerves on edge,
and with every new blow, his body cramps.

"Oh, better to charge – to storm on the spot –
than to wait any longer in this place of horror!
Let us go, let us go!" –
Then the order comes from behind:
"In order that our own guns
can ruthlessly cover the nearby enemy trench
Our first line is to be cleared immediately.
Two hundred meters behind it,
the battalion digs itself free in the terrain.
But at the front, from each company,
until the charge in twenty-four hours,
one squad leader and six men will remain,
who have to identify the crew."
As short and clear as the order,
so difficult it is for everyone who leads here.
Because one thing is certain, come what may,
those at the front will stay there,
While those in the trench have seen their graves. –

Here the leader could show that he is a man,
he who leads by example could die here,
but he must not, he must not sacrifice himself now. –

"Volunteers forward!" –
And after a brief hesitation,
an old man here and a young lad there
volunteered, until the group was complete.
They all knew that they were volunteering
to certain death.
They stared into the distance, their features
stiff, their teeth gritting.
Perhaps one of them thought of home,
of his forests, his mountains.
Perhaps he sent a last greeting
to his sweetheart.
They step forward, not in the intoxication of yore –
the intoxication is long gone.
They sacrifice themselves – soldiers for their homeland. —

The next morning, the charge was a proud victory march.
The best were found dead at the front of the trench.

And now consider, just like these,
there were many, many thousands of others
in the German army
who, unknown and unnamed,
died as silent heroes.
Remember them today,
ten years since the mighty struggle
Of the best army in the world had begun.
Remember these heroes of our army,
who were greater heroes than many,
whose name, song and stone from ancient times have been told.
Shall their death be in vain?
"No!"
And act on the 'No', day in, and day out! -
So thank you them.

"Making a Career"

This short work penned by the Führer's deputy briefly characterizes the author's human nature; it was first published in December 1932 after Rudolf Hess was appointed political central commissioner, when he was congratulated on his "successful career."

"'En pleine carrière'[5] – or rather, to follow the path that has been laid out for him, rather than to follow his own; the essential thing is the "action" that proceeds it.

Career-making is related to the American concept of "dollar-making": "Make dollars, my son – honestly, if possible – but in any case, make dollars!"
The career maker is often not far removed from the career pusher; he is more closely related to the bluffer than to the expert: attending parties, hosting parties, making connections, exploiting connections—these are the tools of the career maker - you can dance your way to a career, dine your way to a career, "drink" your way to a career, kowtow your way to a career, kick your way to a career, intrigue your way to a career, marry your way to a career, even sleep your way to a career…

"To do something for its own sake" and career-building are not compatible; the career-builder does something for the sake of his career.
Opposite the careerist is the character who rises thanks to his abilities; he does his duty without regard for his career, without regard for the careerist. He, too, can cultivate sociability if he likes, dance, love, smoke away evenings with gentlemen, marry – he can do anything, but never for the sake of his career, but at most for the sake of the cause he serves.
To climb toward the summit, confidently and upright—the careerist meanwhile seeks to grab a free seat on the suspension railway!—to ascend by one's own strength: "Those who do not know where they are going climb highest!" Those who do not choose the stages of their career as their guide, but follow their inner urge to truly create.

Excerpt from an Interview: Rudolf Hess to the French reporter Philippe Barrés, printed in "Le Matin" on September 24th, 1933

[5] French for "At the height of one's career".

"These professions of peace that you have heard in our great official speeches are not mere lip service... When you feel connected to the resurgence of a broken people such as ours, and when you have experienced war as we have, as Hitler and I and the majority of Hitler's comrades have, then you are convinced that there are other means than war to solve these big issues - especially now, under your Prime Minister Daladier, who is also an old front-line soldier, let us hope..."

Three Decrees by Rudolf Hess

Decree of June 27th, 1933

“National Socialists!
With iron energy, the Führer is tackling unemployment by implementing ambitious plans; the number of unemployed is falling from month to month, and it is already more than a million lower than at the same time last year - nevertheless, the reconstruction of an economy that has been systematically destroyed over fifteen years can only proceed slowly.
In his appeal when he took office, the Führer called for four years - accordingly, the people are still in great need today; all party members must take this need into account by exercising modesty and simplicity on all occasions: this is made a duty for the officials and leaders of the movement.
In particular, they are prohibited from participating in so-called “banquets” - in this, they must follow the example of the Führer, who has categorically refused to allow banquets to be held in his honor and has remained unchanged in his simplicity.

National Socialists!
Prove that the revolutionary spirit within you has not died with the victory of the National Socialist revolution! Show that you have nothing in common with the social excesses of a bygone era; show that National Socialism has ushered in a new style in Germany; show that National Socialism means simplicity and thrift, discipline and self-discipline, a sense of community and thus consideration for fellow citizens in need - in all your actions, keep in mind the old fighters who starved and suffered for victory, who suffered behind prison and penitentiary walls, who gave their blood and their lives - prove yourselves worthy of them!
Long live our victorious National Socialist revolution!”

Decree of October 13th, 1933

Following the wish by Reich Bishop Müller that no pastor will suffer harm by not belonging to the “German Christians” faith movement, I decree:
No National Socialist may be disadvantaged in any way because he does not profess a particular faith or denomination, or because he does not profess any denomination at all - faith is a matter for each individual alone, for which he is accountable only to his conscience; coercion of conscience must not be practiced.

Decree of November 1st, 1933

The opponents of National Socialism are attempting here and there to weaken the strong impression left by the great discipline of the National Socialist revolution by using provocateurs to incite National Socialists to commit transgressions or other changes intended to create public discontent - in order to put a stop to the provocateurs, violations of the law committed by National Socialists will in future be punished even more severely than before by party penalties, regardless of court penalties.

The image of the National Socialist revolution—the work of the old fighters—should not be tarnished by the misdemeanors and tactlessness of overzealous individuals, most of whom have only recently joined National Socialism - accordingly, any use of petty harassment is expressly prohibited; this also applies to attempts to exert pressure on non-party members outside of official events by seizing flags or by using the

“German salute.” The day will come when every German will consider it a matter of honor to use only the “German salute”; the sooner this day comes, the less the public will feel that the salute is being forced upon them.

It is not orders but achievements that win support for the cause of National Socialism; the developments of recent months, in which millions have newly professed their allegiance to National Socialism, are proof of this.

“Speech at the Congress of Victory”

Rudolf Hess opens the “Congress of Victory”

Some fundamental excerpts from Rudolf Hess's speech at the 1933 Nuremberg Party Congress, which is called the ”Congress of Victory":

"... I would like to describe National Socialism and fascism as common sense cast into political forms; this also justifies the common interest in maintaining peace, for would it be compatible with common sense if peoples who are achieving things in peaceful construction that amaze the rest of the world were to desire war! No! They can only desire one thing: security from those states in which common sense obviously does not yet reign…”

... Once upon a time, they (the leaders gathered at the Congress) built a healthy, powerful, and therefore victorious movement under the leadership of Adolf Hitler; the fact that the majority of these same men are now building a new state under the same leadership gives us the certainty that it too will be healthy and powerful, and the more the people stand behind it, the healthier it will be.
No one at home or abroad who claims to be taken seriously can deny that our people stand behind this state; even the last election would have given the NSDAP a two-thirds majority under the English electoral system, and a future election will bring a victory that would far eclipse the last one, even under the German electoral system.
The participants in this Congress were appointed by the Führer on the basis of their proven achievements; as representatives of National Socialism, they are representatives of the overwhelming majority, and this

Congress can therefore be described as the most modern representation of the people, just as today's Germany is the most modern democracy in the world, whose Führer, rooted in the people and supported by the trust of the majority of the people, has earned the right to lead on his own merits, in a selection process that replaces dead numbers with the principle of performance, with a goal towards the ability of leadership.
'All power emanates from the people' - the organized expression of the will of the people is the party, and is therefore the bearer of the political leadership of the nation; the leader of the party has logically became the Führer of the nation."

"My Führer!
As the leader of the party, you were our guarantee of victory:
When others wavered, you remained steadfast!
When others advised compromise, you remained unyielding!
When others lost heart, you spread new courage!
When others left us, you took up the flag more resolutely than ever—until the flag, as the flag of the state, heralded victory - and once again, you carry the flag forward!
As the Führer of the nation, you are our guarantee of final victory."

"From an Address to Italian Secretary of State Renato Ricci and the Young Italian Fascists in the Brown House"

Rudolf Hess welcomes the young fascists in the Brown House

"...The friendship between National Socialism and Fascism is the best proof of the correctness of the assertion made by Adolf Hitler in his great Reichstag speech that it is relatively easiest to achieve understanding between conscious nationalists - apart from these foundations of mutual respect for national identity and mutual understanding of each other's national demands, the friendship between our two movements, as has often been emphasized, springs not from sentimentality but from the common interests of the peoples our two movements serve, not least of which is a common interest in peace.

Peoples who have secured an internal order and are building on a large scale may desire peace for further development more ardently and sincerely than other peoples, for whom adherence to the liberalist system brings ever new crises, whose unemployment figures continue to rise steadily, and for whom, according to the old rule, there is a growing danger that one day they will try to distract attention from internal difficulties by foreign policy adventures; nations such as Germany and Italy, which are winning “the battle against unemployment” and “the battle for grain,” have no need to seek victories on the battlefield; it is no coincidence that the Four-Power Pact owes its existence to Mussolini's initiative on the one hand and Hitler's understanding on the other, just as it is no coincidence that other states did not make it easy for Germany to sign this peace document.

It is said that systems rule Europe - may this also apply to the system that is uniform in its basic features, according to which our countries are governed for their good fortune and which, in its inner essence, tends toward tranquility and peace.
Since this system is also the most powerful, we have good reason to hope that it will prevail in the rest of the world, albeit with variations due to national characteristics, and thus contribute significantly to world peace - our two movements have themselves already done their part to achieve this goal!"

“The Oath to Adolf Hitler”

Excerpt from the speech given on the occasion of the first solemn swearing-in ceremony at the Royal Square in Munich - over a million political leaders, leaders of the Hitler Youth and the Labor Service, who had

assembled in all parts of the Reich, took the oath together after the speech was broadcast on the radio; the swearing-in ceremony took place on February 25th, 1934, the anniversary of the proclamation of the party program, which coincided with Heroes' Memorial Day.

“German men, German women, German boys, German girls, all those who have gathered at this hour in numbers well over a million throughout the German Reich!
On the anniversary of the announcement of the party program, you will jointly take the oath of allegiance and obedience to Adolf Hitler, thereby formally confirming to the world what has long been self-evident to you and what you have already expressed in your actions for years, often unconsciously.
You are taking your oath on a day that is also being celebrated for the first time as Heroes' Memorial Day in Germany - we lower our flags on this day and commemorate, above all and more than ever, those who lived as heroes and died as heroes; the flags are lowered before the great figures of our history, before the fighters for Germany, before the millions of the World War, before those who died as pioneering victims for the new Reich; I name Horst Wessel here because his name has become a symbol for us, and in him I commemorate all those who were “shot by the Red Front and reaction” - woe to the people who no longer know hero worship! For one day that people will produce no more heroes—know no more heroes. The hero arises from the essence of a people; a people without heroes is a people without leaders, for only the heroic leader is a true leader and will stand firm in difficult times - the rise or fall of a people can be determined by the presence or absence of a hero.
Let us not forget the mothers, wives, and children who sacrifice their loved ones—often their breadwinners—and bear their fate in silent heroism.
Combative male heroism and the silent sacrifice of mothers and wives are sacred concepts of loyalty to us Germans; the flags we raise again today are symbols of this loyalty, which for Nordic people is closely linked to heroism.

The Germanic hero is loyal to the point of self-sacrifice - be aware of this as you swear allegiance on Heroes' Memorial Day! Not only to be loyal in deed, but also to be loyal in attitude is required of you - to be loyal in attitude often demands no less heroic self-discipline than loyalty in deed. To be loyal in attitude means to embody unbreakable loyalty; a loyalty that knows no ifs or buts, that knows no revocation. To be loyal in attitude means unconditional obedience, which does not question the usefulness of the command, which does not question the reasons for the command, but which obeys for the sake of obeying; obedience becomes an expression of heroic attitude when following the command seems to be to the personal disadvantage of the obedient person or to contradict his own convictions.
It is Adolf Hitler's strength as a leader that he almost always acts through the power of his conviction within the political organization and only rarely gives orders; however, he must know that when he gives orders or has orders given, the order will be obeyed unconditionally, right down to the last block warden. The greater the discipline of an organization that is good in itself, the greater its effectiveness and potential impact; the more you practice obedience down to the smallest detail, the more clearly you turn right or left according to the Führer's command, the more reliably you follow the instructions to march in step or at a brisk pace, and the more confidently the Führer can, step by step, create the conditions for the realization of the National Socialist program.
Under his command, we National Socialists are all working to realize this program, just as we once all worked to gain power in the state: we, the fighters for the soul of the farmer, for the soul of the worker, for the soul of the citizen, for the soul of the man, for the soul of the woman, for the soul of the old, for the soul of the young — we, the direct bearers of the main formations of the NSDAP, as well as the men

in the Labor Service, the sub-leaders in the sub-divisions of the party, and the National Socialist women in their organizations.

In the same way, boys and girls strive for the same goal as the future generation of a people that will one day follow us as the shapers of Germany's destiny - Hitler Youth, you have submitted yourselves to the Führer in that unconditional dedication to Germany, which, twenty years ago, demanded the great collective heroic death for the people and the Reich from Germany's youngest fighting force, the volunteers of Langemarck.
You yourselves have taken these young men of Langemarck as your role models; you are fortunate to live in a Reich that the best fighters of 1914 could only hope and dream of — a Reich forged for eternity, an inseparable unity, if you do your duty. For you, doing your duty means following the Führer's orders without question! You honor your dead comrades of the first year of the war most vividly by keeping their discipline alive in your ranks.
For the HJ leader, discipline must be all the more the first commandment, the more discipline he demands of his boys; he must demand all the more discipline from them, for the youth naturally longs for wild freedom in its beautiful urge for liberty. But discipline and obedience—coupled with respect for the achievements of the leading generation—must come all the easier to the young people of today, since the leading generation is largely the generation of the World War.
I know how you have been persecuted, reviled, despised, and mocked because of your faith in the Führer! I know of your courage in the face of sacrifice, and I know the dangers that threatened you every day. I know how many comrades from your ranks gave their young lives - I know all this!
But I also know that all the dangers and suffering to which a Hitler Youth member was exposed to in the most radical areas in the years before the seizure of power are not comparable to the dangers and suffering of a single day of barrage fire experienced by a member of the front generation - never forget that when your Führer, whom this barrage spared for us, demands strict self-discipline from you.

To the political leaders, I repeat what I called out to their comrades from the Gau of Thuringia before their swearing-in last year: be faithful to Hitler's spirit! In everything you do, ask yourselves: how would the Führer act, according to the image you have of him—and you will not go wrong!
To be faithful to Hitler's spirit means to be aware that a leader has not only rights, but above all duties.; to be faithful to Hitler's spirit means to always be an example to your fellow human beings: “To be a leader means to lead by example,” just as Adolf Hitler leads you and his people by example. To be faithful to Hitler's spirit means to remain reserved and independent of outward appearances; to be faithful to Hitler's spirit means remaining a National Socialist through and through, in good times and bad; to be a National Socialist through and through means always thinking only of the entire National Socialist German people - it means, whatever your role as a servant of Adolf Hitler's National Socialism, being consciously and wholeheartedly, first and foremost, a follower of the Führer!
Always be a servant of the whole, even in the movement, and never forget that only the movement in its entirety, and not a single member, can preserve victory and bring about the conquest of the future.
Always be aware that wherever you may stand, you stand there thanks to the Führer, because his leadership alone made victory possible - wherever you may stand, whether high or low, everyone works for their movement and thus for Germany—remember what Adolf Hitler told you, that it does not matter whether someone works as a street sweeper or as a university professor, but only as long as they work for

the whole and do their duty; the reward for your actions should be the feeling of having fulfilled your duty to the movement, to Adolf Hitler, to Germany.

Together, all of you, political leaders, SA, SS, and youth, honor yourselves with one pride: that of being members of Adolf Hitler's NSDAP!
As heralds and defenders of National Socialism, you are all arms of the movement; you are all as indispensable and equal as ever; you are as unique and unprecedented in history as National Socialism itself; you are the quintessential National Socialist.
The SA, SS, and political leaders have their common tradition, which is embodied in the "Old Guard"; it encompasses all those who fought, sacrificed, suffered, risked or gave their lives early on for Germany's resurgence under National Socialism; it has the honor of having fought for our national future with their blood and sacrifices, and they deserve the gratitude of all those who consider it their good fortune to be able to live in this new Reich - in a Reich led by men who have the will for national freedom, for a socialist community, and for peace in dignity and honor.

Political leaders! Leaders of the Labor Service—the guard of labor! Women's leaders, HJ leaders! Leaders of the BDM! You will now take the oath to Adolf Hitler!
You are not swearing to a formality, you are not swearing to a stranger - you are not swearing to a hope — you are swearing to a certainty. Fate has made it easy for you to swear an oath to one man unconditionally and unreservedly; never in history has a people placed such complete trust in a leader who demanded an oath as the German people have placed in Adolf Hitler.
You have the infinite good fortune to be able to swear allegiance to the man who is for you the epitome of a leader; you now swear allegiance to a fighter who has proven his leadership for over a decade, who has always been right and has always followed the right path, even when at times the majority of his followers may no longer have understood him.
You must swear your oath to this man whom you know, according to the will of a law of Providence to which he obeys, who will rightly lead the German people and rightly shape Germany's destiny, independent of all influences of earthly powers; in your oath, you bind your lives once again to a man through whom—and this is our belief—higher powers have worked providentially - do not seek Adolf Hitler with your minds, but with the power of your hearts, and you will find him everywhere.
Adolf Hitler is Germany, and Germany is Adolf Hitler - whoever swears allegiance to Hitler swears allegiance to Germany!
Swear allegiance to the great Germany, whose sons and daughters all over the world are now being solemnly commemorated by our homeland through me.

(Those assembled throughout Germany take the oath.)

The greatest oath in history has now been taken - we salute the Führer!"

"From Revolution to Reconstruction"

Speech given at the Essen Gau Party Conference on June 25th, 1934, broadcasted from Cologne on German radio stations.

“National Socialists! Fellow Germans!

I am not speaking to you today as Reich Minister, but as a National Socialist - a National Socialist who, like few others, knows what moves my old comrades-in-arms; I know this all the better because I myself have the honor of counting myself among the oldest party comrades from the beginning of the movement, who joined the Führer in 1920 when only a few men had gathered around him.
I carry with me the incredibly beautiful memory of the time when I suffered hardship with the Führer for the sake of the idea for which he lived; I carry with me the memory of the unspeakably difficult struggle of the first fighters for the new idea - I stood before the Führer among the first dozen SA men of the movement; I collapsed in front of my Führer, covered in blood, during the first hall battle of the SA; I was one of the first SA leaders to swear allegiance to Adolf Hitler; on November 3rd, 1922, I stormed the Bürgerbräukeller alongside my Führer, and I served seven and a half months in prison with him.
I was allowed to help Adolf Hitler build this new movement in a seemingly hopeless situation, and in the long years that followed, until the seizure of power, I was allowed to stand by his side every day: I was allowed to accompany him to the most dangerous meetings throughout the German Reich; I was able to live through all the hardships that weighed on him, when almost all the forces in Germany were against him, and I shared in his suffering and shared in his hopes, his faith, and his victories.
I must tell you all this, my party comrades and fellow citizens, because then you will understand that I know the Führer and his thoughts like hardly anyone else! But I must also tell you this because then you will understand all the better that I lived through this incredibly difficult struggle almost from the very first day of the movement, and I have remained who I am today: a National Socialist in the original sense of the word - and so, I speak from the tradition of both a political leader and a SA leader.

Here on the Rhine and Ruhr, in the working heart of Germany, our struggle was once ranked among the hardest in the entire Reich, given the density of the population and the severity of their work; I also know that even today, most of these working people still do not have it easy in their labor, and that they still have to earn their bread under the most difficult circumstances.
The fact that Adolf Hitler's most loyal supporters are to be found among the workers is proof that the Führer has succeeded in fulfilling his promise: that Germany will be richest when Germany's poorest son is also its most loyal son; this fact forms the foundation for the construction of the new Reich, just as the working man himself is the foundation of National Socialism. If, despite the harshness of life and although National Socialism has been able to give the worker little in material terms, he continues to stand by National Socialism in his heart, this proves his healthy view of reality: of what is possible in building up a Reich and its economy, which was previously on the brink of collapse; it proves that they have understood that recovery cannot have a significant impact on individuals within a year, or even a few months, but that we must rather be happy that in such a short time millions of our comrades have already found work and bread, while the Führer has given himself four years to eliminate unemployment.
Workers know that by foregoing higher wages, they are making a sacrifice for the benefit of those who have found jobs in newly created positions; those who have been unemployed themselves know how hopelessly the days pass without work, and they know what it means to be able to contribute again in some way—even if it is only for values that will benefit us or our children later on.
Work is progress—unemployment is decline.

Today, workers also know that political cleansing — the destruction of the organizations to which they once belonged — was a prerequisite for economic recovery.
I can only repeat what I recently shouted to workers at a mine on the border of Upper Silesia: the Führer, who once worked in your own ranks, knows your plight best - the Führer is your best friend! His efforts are for you; he alone wants and can, together with you, fight for the improvement of your living standards! That is an essential goal of his life, and he will achieve it, just as he has achieved his other goals — just as he has already achieved his first goal in a difficult and seemingly hopeless struggle lasting many years: the seizure of power.
With political power in his hands, Adolf Hitler is now building your state; it is therefore the duty of everyone to cooperate actively with all their strength. We know that the German people have cooperated with unprecedented unity since the time after the seizure of power, for the practical result of their cooperation is as impressive as the numerical result of the referendum in November 1933, which is unparalleled in history - what significance do the few who stood aside at that time have in comparison, what significance do the few who still withdraw today have? They are the incorrigible, who are still caught up in their former party thinking; may they exclude themselves from the struggle for the future of their people — but let them also be told this: if they seek to cause harm through silent sabotage, then may God have mercy on them!
We sometimes have the feeling that saboteurs are at work here and there, but no matter behind which front they hide, whether in the economy, in the civil service, or elsewhere — we will find them one day, and they will get to know National Socialism personally - everything will be forgiven, except crimes against our own people!

And because National Socialism does not forgive crimes against the people, it has, with its characteristic determination, also taken action against the kind of saboteurs who today believe they can cause damage by maliciously criticizing the National Socialist reconstruction effort - I am not one of those who see every criticism as a crime, and I also know that there are occasions when criticism is justified; however, what I am all the more opposed to is those who use the inevitable shortcomings that accompany such a profound upheaval brought about by a movement of millions as an opportunity to sow mistrust, cause unrest, and pursue their own political agendas. All those who see the results of human weaknesses and inadequacies should consider how much has been achieved in such a short time, and how insignificant the flaws are in comparison! And they too will be eliminated over time.
Let us remember what Germany was like in the past and what it is like today:
Before the National Socialists seized power, thirty parties confused political life in Germany, with the result that thirty parties full of Germans were pitted against each other as political enemies; indeed, it is true that these parties had long since ceased to fight individually for power in Germany, but instead fought the NSDAP 29:1, and with this 29:1, they instilled in the German people the sort of hatred, mistrust, and cowardice that had made the Reich defenseless in foreign policy and dependent on every capricious whim of the League of Nations or a foreign government.
What is the situation today? Not a single party in the old sense governs Germany anymore, but only the National Socialist movement; as an expression of healthy German common sense, it sets the direction for all political events; uniform goals, for which the combined strength of the German people can now be used today, are achieved through the command of a single will.
In terms of foreign policy, Germany has once again become a state that is beginning to play a role worthy of a great nation - for example, we felt with pride the difference from earlier times when the Führer met

with Mussolini in Venice: whereas in previous years the November Republic of Germany was represented by the representative of a parliamentary majority that might be overthrown the very next day, this time the Führer of the united German nation stood opposite the leader of the fascist Italy that Mussolini had created - we National Socialists have the right to be grateful and proud that Adolf Hitler has succeeded in restoring the honor of the German people before themselves and before the world.
In the past, even the good intentions of the Reich government were rendered ineffective by the open and silent opposition of the state governments - today, the central power of the National Socialist government is self-evident, and the whole of Germany obeys its commands.
In no area of public life—art, economics, science, politics of all shades, including social policy—did a clear historical line prevail in the past: there was no will or goal for individual areas, let alone for their harmonious coexistence; purely creative people in Germany did not know what they were striving for, what they were working for, and in what broad outline of Germany's destiny they could set their goals; everyone vegetated mentally from one day to the next, and everyone tried to assert their right to live for the day, small and insignificant in the face of the destiny that is Germany, because they felt the futility of their actions deep down - only when the first few fighters of National Socialism recognized the path to a future for the German nation did meaning return to German affairs.
Today, artists once again see the great duties they have toward their people; their work is once again rooted in their people, and they can create with the joyful conviction that their work is fruitful for Germany; meanwhile, scientists and economists who have sensed a hint of the National Socialist spirit can once again be aware of the meaning of their work.
The individual no longer struggles alone with his private concerns; he no longer debates only the issues of everyday politics: rather, he feels his life is once again aligned with greater goals - the Führer has given meaning to the lives of Germans once again.

But what would have happened if National Socialism had not been victorious in the struggle for power, if fate had not chosen the Führer to complete the reformation of Germany into a nation, to lead the revival of the German people; what would have happened if the attempt by foreign countries to destroy National Socialism in Germany through economic boycott had been successful?
If what was planned in the Karl Liebknecht House had become reality, the best of the people would have ended their lives behind prison walls! The government in Germany, insofar as such a thing could have been formed at all, would have been formed by representatives of foreign powers; the army would have been destroyed, the economy, the basis of the people's livelihood, would have been destroyed; German youth, whose hopeful idealism is our good fortune today, would have fallen victim to an Asian rebellion. Where German life is reawakening today in a thousand rhymes, the last embers of the destruction of a European cultural nation would be smoldering, spreading beyond the borders to destroy the organism of the other peoples of Europe as well; as a visible sign of such a downfall, foreign armies on German soil would have brought the claims of power of other nations to a bloody conclusion - that would have been Germany's fate, according to our firm belief, had Adolf Hitler not taken the reins of the Reich on January 30th, 1933.
If, since that January 30th, only the problem of unemployment had been tackled, and if nothing more had been achieved to this day than the reintegration of millions of German compatriots into the circle of working Germans, National Socialism would have still proven that it was called to power; if only the single, internal battlefront had been created in the brownshirts of the SA and the political leaders, in the blackshirts of the SS, and in the gray-green shirts of the Labor Service, National Socialism would have

proven its mission in that alone; if we had only instilled in the hearts of millions of our German boys and girls a new faith in themselves and their people, giving them the courage to shape their own German destiny, we could see from this alone how true our path had been since January 30th.

The multitude of successes achieved since the seizure of power demonstrates the strength of the German people, in which we have always believed and will continue to believe in:
The German people are in the process of building great highways which — like the Roman roads of our day remind us of Roman times — will remind future generations of the Hitler era centuries from now; in these years of hardship, the German people are wresting new fertile soil from the earth and the sea; in the field of technology, they are striving to remain as leaders in the world as they are in science and art - through its efforts to preserve the family, to maintain racial purity, and to keep foreign blood and thus foreign minds away from the coming generation, it wants to once again become the standard people of the human type that nature and faith have predestined for it.
I will not go into every detail that shows Germany's transformation through National Socialism, but basically, this transformation documents in every respect the beginning of the overcoming of purely materialistic thinking; the fact that we have smashed the organizations of Marxism as the breeding grounds of materialistic thinking is a revolutionary act that demonstrates the external power of our movement; the fact that we were also able to kill the spirit of materialism in those who, as former carriers of the Marxist organism, still live today is proof of the convincing inner power of the Hitler movement.

How ridiculous the complainer appears in comparison to all this! He sees something great that he does not understand and whose magnitude he is incapable of grasping; a bygone era has robbed him of the inner greatness that is a prerequisite for understanding the events of our time.
The complainer, my party comrades, must still exist, for where would all those people have gone whose complaints once sustained thirty parties? If thirty Germans—each organized in his own party—lived off complaining back then, what a miracle it would be if we had only one complainer for every thirty Germans today!
The eternal know-it-alls simply cannot keep up with us; how pitiful are the beer-bench critiques of the philistines and reactionaries, who are consumed with anger that they did not have the time to come into their own; there is no point in arguing with them, because before we were done, they would be dead; many of them have simply not yet had their political demise clearly expressed by some crude fanatic of truth.
We have carried out the German revolution in an almost jovial tone toward them; we were able to do so out of a sense of power, because we know that these women in men's skirts, who make a public fuss because they have no say at home, are not worthy opponents.
We speak a new language, we think new thoughts, and we perform new deeds: let us be lenient with those whom fate has condemned to stand aside, to not understand, to not be able to understand, and let us direct the thrust of our entire struggle against those who, out of malice, do not want what we bring.
The world of ideas from which the malicious speak and the language they use are revealed to us in their newspapers, which are produced abroad in exile; the only value these newspapers hold for us is that they remind us of the way politics was once conducted in pre-National Socialist Germany—they remind us of the orgies of lies and rhetoric that prevailed at that time. It is a strange German language in which they speak and criticize: there are terms that have become meaningless to the people, and there are arguments that make the people merely smile in amusement. Every time I pick up such a paper, hoping to find some

criticism that I might agree with, after reading it I feel that it was really a waste of time: we truly have better things to do today than concern ourselves with this hackneyed verbiage, to lend our ears to this often downright hysterical ranting - nature has given us the beautiful gift of forgetting those who, from abroad, criticize the country they maligned and betrayed, the country they left because their guilty conscience drove them out.

If we refuse to engage with these critics, we are, on the other hand, open to any kind of objective criticism that corresponds to the essence of National Socialist thinking, provided it is presented in an appropriate manner; the way to do this is through the nerve centers of the party, the living link between the Führer and the people. However, this criticism must never be shouted out in the streets and markets for all unqualified people to hear, to the delight of all enemies of the new Germany: anyone who voices criticism publicly or at the regulars' table should be aware that in doing so, they are aiding the enemies of their people, and are often perhaps repeating what agents and provocateurs maliciously spread among the people.

All the more reason, then, for true National Socialist leaders to ensure that justified criticism reaches those who have the power to bring about improvement; I expect the leaders of National Socialism to go through the areas of command entrusted to them with open eyes and open ears and to report upwards everything that is worthy of criticism and can be changed through criticism, without forgetting sober self-criticism - all the more so, for those who have the honor of standing with the Führer in the movement for a long time will be generous toward the human idiosyncrasies and weaknesses of National Socialist leaders when these go hand in hand with great achievements; he will—which is what distinguishes him from the critic—forgive small weaknesses with great achievements, instead of pointing out small weaknesses in order to belittle achievements.

We National Socialists are one big German family—and every family has its wayward children.

Comrades and fellow citizens, I am far from taking the position that all National Socialists are perfect; a million-strong organization with only perfect leaders is unthinkable in this world, and this naturally means that criticism of the actions of some subordinate leaders is not only justified, but also necessary - no one who voices justified criticism to the appropriate authorities but who otherwise belongs to the movement and has done his work for the movement should be disadvantaged in any way because of this.

I am aware that in every large mass movement, it occasionally turns out that a subordinate leader has ended up in the wrong place — and of course we then take action. But to those party members who are really suffering under such a subordinate leader somewhere in Germany, I say to them: never forget what has become of Germany as a result of National Socialism; what is the burden of a subordinate leader who is not quite up to the task, compared to the burden that Germany's dishonor and decline has placed on you?

We see with pride that one person remains immune to all criticism—the Führer. This is because everyone feels and knows that he was always right, and will always be right; our National Socialism is anchored in uncritical loyalty, in devotion to the Führer, a devotion that does not question his reasons in individual cases or in the silent execution of his orders - we believe that the Führer is following a higher calling to shape Germany's destiny! There is no criticism of this belief.

In the political arena, critics of major issues must be able to propose something better; those who cannot do so should remain silent, otherwise they must accept being counted among those who criticize individual phenomena, which they exaggerate and distort, in order to hide their annoyance at the great success of the National Socialist movement - that is the most common motive of the naysayers and critics: annoyance at our abilities.

We want to assume for the time being that every member of the nation wants only the best for the people and the fatherland, regardless of whether they were party members or not; anyone who sincerely wants to help rebuild the country is welcome. However, we do not welcome criticism from those who once held positions where they could have proven that they were better at solving problems than we are, but who failed—who were unable to stop the decline. As we set about solving these major problems today, what matters is not criticism, but cooperation.
If the NSDAP, without taking all the criticism particularly tragically, has nevertheless decided to take a stand against critics and complainers, then it is fighting in accordance with the National Socialist principle: if you strike, strike hard! This principle has proven itself a thousand times over in fourteen years of struggle against the opposition; it is precisely the foreign observer who must be aware of this fundamental attitude of the NSDAP, of pursuing a goal with all means of struggle and of using the entire fighting power of the movement for the respective goal, if he wants to judge our struggle against grumbling.
Foreign countries should not give in to the deceptive hope that the mood in Germany has somehow changed - today, just as in November 1933, the National Socialist leadership could, if it deemed it necessary, ask the German people whether Germany stands by National Socialism or not, and our opponents would experience the same disappointment today as they did in the vote at that time, from which they believed they could predict a miserable result.

Incidentally, the foreign states that are our opponents should not delude themselves: their hope that National Socialism could still be defeated is a dangerous hope, and the realization of their hope would be fatal for them - a departure of National Socialism from the political stage of the German people would not bring Germany back into dependence on all the governments concerned, but would ultimately lead to chaos in Europe.
Bolshevism would take hold in Germany, in forms whose radicalism hardly anyone has thought about so far, and with a new kind of brutality; this brutality would be caused by the resulting leaderlessness of a large people in a small space, and by the desperation of hunger of a people accustomed to a regulated industrial economy; even the Bolshevik revolution in agrarian Russia could not compare to a possible German Bolshevism.
Let us remember that during four weeks of Bolshevik rule in Munich, men and women were slaughtered as hostages — slaughtered simply because they were held responsible for distributing anti-Semitic leaflets! And let us remember the unheard-of atrocities and tortures, the mass murders that made Bela Run's Jewish council rule in Hungary the terror of the civilized world!
The consequence of the Bolshevization of Germany would be a further disruption of economic conditions in the world and, associated with this, a further receptiveness, especially on the part of the industrialized nations, to the Marxist-chaotic plague of the earth - every politician who toys with the idea of overcoming National Socialism in Germany should bear this in mind! The critical situation in the United States, but also in certain European countries where the Bolshevik threat smolders, should be warning enough.
In view of what would befall Germany, in what would be akin to a natural disaster if National Socialism were to be overthrown, one can only smile at those who are stuck in the past and believe that National Socialism could be replaced by a monarchy or by the leadership of “proven conservative forces” - our

timely action against the critics should ensure that neither “proven conservatives” nor “hopeful monarchists”, nor communists banking on the successes of the voles[6] gain significance!

I would also like to urge particular caution on the part of those idealistic, gullible members of my party who, in memory of the heroism and wonderful camaraderie of the movement's struggle, sometimes tend to turn to provocateurs who try to set comrades against each other and cloak this criminal game in the honorable name of a “second revolution” - we know that throughout Germany's long history, foreign powers have repeatedly used Germans to fight against Germany; it is a historical fact that the upheaval of 1918 was predominantly financed by foreign countries and driven forward by their agents - what could be more obvious than that the opponents of today's Germany would try to fight it with the same methods and stage a revolt against the National Socialist revolution under the name of a second revolution?
They overlook only one thing: that they are now facing a politically educated people; merely hinting at this danger is enough to make this people immune to it — even more, to turn it, if necessary, in unprecedented unity against the provocateurs and those who abuse them as tools.
The true leaders of the movement will not tolerate the abuse of those who are passionately committed to the idea of revolution and who, out of their revolutionary enthusiasm, feel that progress toward revolutionary goals is not moving fast enough; responsible, true National Socialists must prevent our people, including the real revolutionaries, from suffering serious harm, for damage would be done if fanatics with blinders on indulged in revolutionary games: revolutions in states with complex modern economies, on which the lives of peoples depend, cannot be modeled on examples from the eighteenth century or on the pattern of the annual mini-revolutions of small exotic republics.
Believe me, the Führer could have carried out a bloody game in this sense without regard for practical reality—who would have wanted to stop him! But here, too, as always during the period of opposition, the Führer was guided in all his actions by a deep sense of responsibility, thus preventing a catastrophe that the revolutionaries, in their recklessness, would only see after standing helplessly before the ruins that they themselves had caused.

The Führer has prepared us, his Old Guard, for constructive work, to translate our revolutionary will into daily reconstruction work at the appropriate time — he has prepared us for the quiet shaping of the state. What the Führer must and can demand of us old men, he can also demand of all his party comrades; he knows better than anyone how difficult it is to keep a passionate heart in check.
Even back in those days of the National Socialist revolution, there were enough party members who, in their limited understanding, believed they could do better than the Führer - but one day, they were all taught a lesson; they all had to recognize that the Führer was the instrument of a higher will, that he had unconsciously or consciously taken the right path. As it was, so it has remained to this day: only he alone can complete what he has begun, and only he alone can give us what we all long for.
Perhaps Adolf Hitler considers it necessary to one day continue the development with revolutionary means - but it must always be a revolution controlled by him. We await his command, confident that he will call on us old revolutionaries when necessary, and that he knows when it is necessary. We have unshakeable faith in him—regardless of whether he calls on us in months or years from now.
The command of the Führer, to whom we have sworn allegiance, alone is valid - woe to those who break their allegiance in the belief that they can serve the revolution through revolt; pitiful are those who believe

[6] Voles are a type of rodent known in Germany for being agricultural pests and being responsible for famines in the past.

they have been chosen to help the Führer revolutionarily through agitational action from below! Adolf Hitler is a revolutionary of the highest order and remains inwardly a revolutionary of the highest order - he needs no assistance!
Adolf Hitler is the great strategist of the revolution; he knows the limits of what can be achieved with the means and circumstances at hand. He acts after cold-blooded deliberation — often seemingly serving only the moment, yet far-sighted in pursuing the distant goals of the revolution. Woe to those who clumsily trample on the delicate threads of his strategic plans in the delusion that they can make things happen faster! They are the enemies of the revolution — even if they act in good faith; the beneficiaries would be the opponents of the revolution, whether in the name of reaction or in the name of communism.
No one watches over his revolution more than the Führer - how could it be otherwise! After all, the revolution is his own creation, for which he fought for and struggled, for which he grieved for, for which he risked his life for, and for which he bore his fate behind prison walls.
We, who argued and suffered with him in his immediate circle and thus know his unchanging will, we too watch over the course of the revolution; we know what incredible things have been achieved in many areas in a period of time that we once considered impossible - but we also know as well as the Führer himself that so much is still piecemeal today, that it only carries the essence of what is being strived for and still needs to be imbued with the spirit of National Socialism.

I have made it my special duty, in the honorable office entrusted to me by the Führer as his deputy in the leadership of the movement, to always keep in mind the revolutionary goals of National Socialism, both in general and in detail, above and beyond the daily necessities and compromises that harsh reality imposes on us for the moment; I stake my honor on this, even if I do not constantly talk about revolutionary spirit or act as if I alone had a monopoly on it: to remain revolutionary at heart and to live according to the principles of the National Socialist revolution—that is what matters!
In all our expressions of life, a new style adapted to us and our time should be evident—that is the demand of us true revolutionaries; we must not try to mimic outdated views of a bygone era, nor must we regard every new piece of nonsense uttered by a hysterical person as the product of the National Socialist era: the National Socialist spirit has long since become a concept in its own right, which inherently encompasses the right form.
Some talk revolutionarily—but the actions of those who, in quiet work and for meager wages, want to give visible expression to the revolutionary National Socialist will are much greater - for example, those who plan and work practically on the autobahns being built to last for centuries to come do more for the German revolution than those who believe they can hide their impotence with bloodthirsty speeches.
The National Socialist revolution was not necessary for its own sake; it was necessary for the sake of the deeds that were born of it and will be required in the future!
National Socialism arose at the front; our ideological concept, which today dominates Germany, grew out of the experience of the front; the blood of those who fell for it has ennobled the movement of the front-line soldier Adolf Hitler: faith in him is faith in victory!
I salute the Führer as the leader of the front-line generation, the first soldier of the German revolution, and the guardian of the Reich!”

“To Germans Abroad”

Speech at the conference of the German Chamber of Commerce Abroad on June 28th, 1934 in Berlin.

“The Führer has instructed me to convey his greetings to you, my fellow Germans abroad, and in particular to welcome the foreign guests among you here.

As most of you probably know, I myself am a German who was born abroad[7], and even today, I still have personal ties to Germans living abroad, so I feel justified in saying that I am well aware of the concerns of my fellow Germans. I know what a difficult and challenging situation most of them find themselves in, but I also know what a great German task they all face - I consider it my duty to both foster understanding here at home for Germans abroad and their special circumstances, and to also keep this understanding alive, not only among my compatriots, but also among those entrusted with the leadership of the party and the state, insofar as this is necessary - after all, the Führer himself grew up amid the struggles of Germanism outside its borders.
You know, as I do, that one of the failings of the former state was that it did not keep alive the blood ties that connect German culture at home with German culture abroad, and did not exploit them politically to achieve a tangible success for both parts of German culture; I consider it a special duty of the National Socialist state to make up for this failure and to enable joint work - the new Germany needs and expects the cooperation and the spiritual and material sacrifices of all its compatriots abroad; their positive cooperation should be integrated into the great German national community.

Germans in foreign countries must live according to the national laws of their host nations. It is not always easy to preserve German culture within the framework of these laws; it requires special political discipline, special education, and special tact to lead a life in foreign countries that promotes Germany and benefits Germany - I know, my fellow Germans, that you do not lack this political discipline and tact, and I would like to express the gratitude of your homeland to you for this.
In part, you yourselves, and in part your ancestors, were pioneers of the German economy, German technology, and German culture in general - today, you are also the representatives of the National Socialist Reich abroad, and you are regarded as such throughout the world; from your actions, your lifestyle, and your exemplary behavior, other countries draw their conclusions about our state and the ideas of our Führer; that is why you must also fight the defensive battle abroad with a sense of personal honor and German honor: always be mindful that not the slightest word, not the smallest misstep, should aid the agitation against Germany; if the tone of certain German newspapers is sometimes held up to you as evidence of "German barbarism," you can calmly argue in return that the men who produce these magazines and newspapers learned their methods from the organizers of the anti-German campaign of lies during the World War.
Be assured, my fellow citizens, that we at home know how difficult the struggle is that you must wage abroad in defending Germany against attacks; it is particularly hard because a new target has been added to foreign policy and the economy: our worldview. The rest of the world senses that a new worldview has been born that shakes the foundations of the mindset of our time; the world senses that this worldview is so deeply rooted in our time, yet is at the same time based on laws of nature that are so universally valid, that there is a real danger of it spreading - in fact, movements related to National Socialism or fascism have already emerged in many places, and they have arisen without the slightest active involvement of Germany or its National Socialist representatives abroad, who, on the contrary, as you know, have strict orders to stay out of the internal affairs of their host countries; all the more reason, then, for Germany to expect that the outside world will also refrain from any attempt to interfere in Germany's internal affairs or to influence developments in Germany.
We regard the boycott of German goods abroad as such an attempt, as this attempt stands in stark contrast to the once loudly proclaimed principles of the right to self-determination and freedom of action. The

[7] Hess was born in Alexandria, Egypt.

boycott is intended to exert pressure on us to regulate our internal affairs according to the will of foreign countries, contrary to our own wishes; wide circles abroad have already recognized that the boycott is a double-edged sword and that foreign Jews, who enjoy their hospitality, are putting them in a position that can cause serious damage to the economy of the host country.
We, National Socialist Germany, had the intention, and have repeatedly emphasized it, of maintaining a lively exchange of goods with other peoples—not least because this is a path to mutual understanding and thus to peace; we are by no means striving for autarky for its own sake. However, a continuation of the boycott would force us to do everything possible to make ourselves as independent as possible from foreign countries - what other choice would we have if foreign countries deprived us of the opportunity to obtain the means to buy abroad? And foreign countries should know this: if we really decide to become independent of foreign countries, we will do so with the determination that has always characterized Germany when it feels threatened in the foundations of its existence!
The world should also be aware that this determination has not diminished under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, nor should the outside world assume that the inventiveness of our scientists, the efficiency of our industry in the field of substitute materials, or even the production of artificial raw materials are any less today than they once were - the opposite is true! And the world can expect surprises in this regard if the boycott continues; the German people of today are capable of restricting their consumption of certain foreign products until these new materials are available.
In the long run, the disadvantage for the German people would be less than for a large number of foreign countries that are heavily dependent on the sale of raw materials to Germany. I emphasize once again: we do not want to see an intensification of the global economic crisis, any more than we want to see the misery or the unrest that go hand in hand in the affected countries that could pave the way for their Bolshevization; even less is the German people willing to accept foreign boycott measures without resistance and to be forced to give up their right to arrange their own house, as ninety-five percent of the German people desire and consider necessary; you can see for yourself how the German people have furnished their house or are in the process of furnishing it during your stay here.

I would very much welcome it if you would travel as far as possible into the rest of the Reich and see for yourself that throughout Germany — whether in the north or south, east or west — new life is flourishing and the will to rebuild is at work in all strata of the population.
You will no longer see unemployed people populating the cities and country roads; on the contrary, new workers are at work everywhere: take a look at the Labor Service camps, which are exemplary for the whole world; visit the enormous road construction projects throughout the country or the land reclamation work on the Rhine; talk to the people yourself, so that you can see that a new spirit has filled all Germans and that a profound change has taken place in our people - and after you do this, go out and counter the lies and slander abroad with the truth.
Tell the enemies and friends of the new Germany, the former that they need not gloat, and the latter that they need not worry: difficulties are the spur to action—action is the father of success! Adolf Hitler and his comrades-in-arms have been trained by fate over the long years leading up to the seizure of power in how to overcome difficulties.
You can report to the outside world proudly: Adolf Hitler's Germany stands unshakable.”

“To the Frontline Soldiers of the World”

Speech from Königsberg broadcasted on German radio stations on the occasion of the Gau party conference in East Prussia, July 8th, 1934.
The speech was understood as a call for understanding among front-line soldiers of all nations; it had an exceptionally strong resonance around the world, and will continue to have an impact for years to come.

“In a few weeks, it will be twenty years since the day that marked the beginning of the German soldier's great heroic struggle; it was here in East Prussia that the great soldier Hindenburg saved your country — the same soldier who today, as President of the Reich, is a guarantor of peace.
East Prussia is the region that suffered the most of all German lands during the war, for East Prussia experienced the war in its most brutal reality - here, long-destroyed villages bore witness to the Russian invasion; many of you, my East Prussian party comrades, will still remember the misery of the refugees who made their way in sad processions to their former homeland to seek safety from the Cossacks.
And because you have experienced war on your own soil, I am speaking words here in East Prussia that I have long felt compelled to say to Germany and, above all, to the rest of the world:

Our people are fortunate today to be led primarily by front-line soldiers, who transferred the virtues of the front to the leadership of the state; they are building the new Reich out of the spirit of the front, for it was the spirit of the front that created National Socialism: on the front lines, in the face of death that threatened everyone, concepts such as class snobbery and class consciousness collapsed; on the front lines, in shared joy and shared suffering, a previously unknown camaraderie grew between comrades; on the front lines, a community of destiny, standing above the fate of each individual, rose up before everyone's eyes.
But something else also arose in the front-line soldiers, despite all the bitterness and ruthlessness of the fighting: the feeling of a certain inner connection with the front-line soldier on the other side of no man's land, who suffered the same hardships, stood in the same mud, and was threatened by the same death - this feeling of connection has remained to this day.
Is it not so that when front-line soldiers—once enemies—meet, they share the same memories and the same opinions? The content of their conversations is about the war, but the hope behind their conversations is peace; that is why front-line soldiers are called upon to build bridges of understanding and communication between peoples when politicians cannot find the way. It is no coincidence that the countries that are led primarily by front-line soldiers, Germany and Italy, are making the greatest efforts to promote world peace; it is also no coincidence that when the front-line soldiers Hitler and Mussolini met, a warm personal relationship quickly developed. We have established a treaty with our Polish neighbors that serves the cause of peace, and there, too, a soldier—Marshal Pilsudski—is in charge of politics; similarly, in France, the strongest response to Hitler's efforts to bring about an understanding with his western neighbors was among the country's front-line soldiers.
We front-line soldiers do not want incompetent diplomacy to plunge us into a catastrophe whose suffering will once again be borne by front-line soldiers - we soldiers on all sides feel free from responsibility for the last war, and we want to fight together to prevent a new catastrophe; we, who together were destroyed in war, want to build peace together.
It is high time that a real understanding between nations is finally achieved; an understanding that is based on mutual respect, because only that can be lasting — a respect such as that which characterizes former front-line soldiers among themselves.
Let there be no doubt: most of the major states have amassed more war material than ever before. But war material is subject to the danger of becoming obsolete, and peoples who have not come to terms with the World War and who regard each other with the utmost mistrust are a terribly explosive mixture; a minor incident, such as the ill-fated shot in Sarajevo in 1914 — a shot from the pistol of a madman — may be enough to unleash millions of soldiers again against the will of the peoples concerned; it can be enough to

plow up entire regions with tens of thousands of shells of all calibers and ranges, to transform cities and villages into seas of flames from the air, to suffocate all life in clouds of gas - those who took part in the World War already have an idea of what a modern war with its perfected weapons would mean today.

I turn to you, comrades on the fronts of the World War on both sides: be honest! Certainly, we once stood out there with the proud feeling of being true men—soldiers, fighters, detached from the everyday humdrum of our former lives; at times, we perhaps felt joy in an existence that stood in stark contrast to the effeminacy that modern culture and overculture bring with them; we felt ourselves to be superior to those who, far from the front lines, had nothing to do with the fate of the front lines; we felt ourselves to be the defenders of our nation's life, the bearers of its future; we sometimes enjoyed happy and cheerful hours; we tried to live every minute of the life we had been given twice as intensely - none of us wanted to forget the time we spent on the front lines.
But be honest! We also felt the horror of death; we saw death more terribly and concentratedly than probably any people before us; we crouched in shelters and curled up in anticipation of the crushing impact, holding our breath in horror when our trained ears heard the grenades hissing toward us, when the mines rolled toward us; our hearts pounded until they were about to burst as we searched in vain for cover from the whipping machine-gun fire; we thought we would suffocate under our masks in the midst of the gas clouds, we stumbled through water-filled trenches, we spent shivering nights in the mud of shell craters, we endured days and weeks of the horror of large-scale combat, we froze and starved and were often close to despair; the cries of the seriously wounded rang in our ears, we saw people suffocating in the gas, we encountered blinded people staggering along, we heard the rattle of the dying - amidst the piles of corpses of our comrades, our last hope for life faded, and we saw the misery of the refugees behind us; we saw the widows and orphans, the cripples and the suffering, the sick cattle, the starving women at home.
Be honest! Hasn't each of us asked ourselves from time to time: what is all this for? Must it be? Can't humanity be spared this in the future?
But we endured — on both sides! We endured as men of duty, discipline, and loyalty, as men who abhor cowardice. But today I take up that question from back then and cry it out accusingly to the world — as a front-line soldier to front-line soldiers, as the leader of one people to the leaders of other peoples: Must it be so?! Can we not, with good will, spare humanity this fate together?!
Perhaps you will ask me: why are you raising your voice only today? Why have you remained silent in recent years?
I will give you the answer: because in Germany, my voice would have been mixed with the voices of traitors to their own people; the voices of those who once stabbed German front-line soldiers in the back; the voices of those who slandered front-line soldiers and praised draft dodgers; the voices of those who betrayed the honor of my people; the voices of those Germans who have the Treaty of Versailles on their conscience - I did not want to be part of their company.
Today I am allowed to speak because a man of my people has restored the honor of his people before the world; today I am allowed to speak because this man has silenced the traitors of his people; today I am allowed to speak because the world knows that a National Socialist fighter is not a coward; today I am allowed to speak because the Führer of my people is himself extending his hand to the world in peace; today I am allowed to speak because the bravest of men, Adolf Hitler, has saved me from being misunderstood and placed on par with cowards.

Today I must speak, because in doing so I support the man who is trying to save the world from catastrophe at the last moment; today, I must raise my voice because I also want to warn the world not to confuse the Germany of today, the Germany of peace, with the Germany of yesteryear, the Germany of pacifism! For this must be known: even though we front-line soldiers still have a thousand memories of the horrors of war, and even though the young post-war generation wants war as little as we old people do, the path to our country is not open for a "stroll" - just as the French people defended every inch of ground with all their might in the World War, and would defend it anew every day, we Germans will do the same today. The French frontline soldiers in particular will understand us when we call out to those who still toy with the idea of war—which, of course, would have to be fought by others at the front than the warmongers: let them dare to attack us; let them dare to invade the new Germany; the world will then get to know the spirit of the new Germany - it would fight as hard as any other people has ever fought for its freedom!
The French people know how to defend their own soil - every patch of forest, every hill, every farmstead would have to be conquered with blood! Old and young would cling to the soil of their homeland; with unparalleled fanaticism, they would defend themselves!
And even if the superiority of modern weapons prevailed, the path through the Reich would be a path of horrific sacrifice for the invader as well, for never before has a people been so imbued with its own right and thus with the duty to defend itself against attacks to the last, as our people are today.
We do not believe what the poisoners of international relations would have us believe, that any people would want to disturb the peace of Germany, and thus the peace of Europe, if not the world; we do not believe this of the French people in particular, for we know that this people also longs for peace - just as we front-line soldiers remember that the French population behind the lines of the World War always described the war as a misfortune for themselves and the whole world: "Malheur pour nous — malheur pour vous — malheur pour tout le monde!"[8]
With sincere sympathy, voices from French veteran organizations that are calling for an honest understanding with Germany have been heard in Germany — especially among Germany's front-line soldiers. This demand undoubtedly stems from an awareness of the true nature of war, as well as from the respect that French front-line soldiers, out of a sense of military duty, have for the achievements of their German counterparts. France's soldiers know how bravely the Germans fought for four and a half years against overwhelming odds, just as German veterans can never deny French veterans their recognition for their bravery; this bravery is reflected in the fact that France's army suffered the highest death toll on the Allied side.

The front-line soldiers want peace.
The peoples want peace.
Germany's government wants peace.

And even if we occasionally hear words from influential representatives of the French government that are not in keeping with this spirit of understanding, we do not give up hope that, despite everything, the French government also wants peace - if the French people undoubtedly want peace, we are convinced that even the French government can be convinced that it does not want war with Germany.
And when influential French representatives do not speak the language of the French people and their front-line soldiers, their speeches should not even be taken as an expression of the sentiments of the

[8] French for "Woe to you - woe to us - woe to everyone!"

French leadership; a Frenchman who knows his country's people and politics well said to me: “Have pity on us! We still govern by parliamentarianism” - what he meant was that statesmen are often forced to say in their speeches not what they think, but what parliamentary majorities want to hear; as we know, parliamentary majorities do not represent the opinions of the people, but rather the interests of forces that are often outside the people.
History will certainly give more credit to men who brought about understanding between peoples in such difficult times, and thus saved culture, than to men who believe they can achieve victory through political and military aggression, or to those who actually do achieve victory; the peoples themselves, whose peace they secure, will thank them, for unemployment and its social misery are primarily due to insufficient exchange of goods between states, which is always hindered by a lack of trust.
There is no doubt that an understanding between Germany and France would benefit not only these states as a whole, but also each individual within the two peoples - in concrete terms, this means that every Frenchman and every German would receive higher income or higher wages in the long run.

As little as war and the continuation of war by other means under the name of “peace” benefited the culture and welfare of the peoples, so much must a true peace bring benefits for all; true peace and genuine trust between nations make it possible to reduce their armaments, which today consume a large part of the income of nations and thus of individual citizens.
Adolf Hitler has repeatedly emphasized that Germany merely desires equality in all areas, including armaments; once such an understanding has been reached between Germany and its neighbors, it will be all the easier for Germany to content itself with the minimum level of armaments necessary to guarantee its security, and thus, peace.
A defenseless country poses a threat to peace; its defenselessness only too easily leads to risk-free “strolls” by foreign armies; the disarmament of a single people in the midst of heavily armed peoples can be an incentive for ambitious men to win cheap laurels, an incentive for governments to distract their own people with the foreign policy adventure of war.

The old soldiers among you, my party comrades, will be able to testify as former soldiers that old front-line soldiers, to whom I can proudly count myself among, desire peace from the bottom of their hearts; the world knows in particular that the front-line soldier Adolf Hitler presents his real thoughts to it with surprising openness: the front-line soldiers in the German government sincerely want peace and understanding. I appeal to the front-line soldiers in other countries, as well as to the people of good will in the governments of these countries, to support us in this goal.
I address this appeal from the sacred soil of East Prussia to the front-line soldiers of the world - here, on this German borderland, the great World War began with its terrible sacrifices, sacrifices from which the warring nations have still not recovered today; may the historic battlefield from which I speak here increase the impact of this earnest call for peace.
On Germany's eastern border, understanding pacts guarantee peace for the inhabitants of large neighboring states - may the governments of the peoples on the other borders of our Reich soon see greater security for their compatriots in peaceful treaties of understanding rather than in accumulated war material — that is our hope. In memory of its dead, many of whom fell for East Prussia, the will for peace in Germany will always remain strong and powerful!
The old soldiers of the front and the young fighters of today, who stand for a free, proud, and peaceful Reich, salute the front-line soldier and Führer Adolf Hitler.”

“Obituary for Hindenburg”

Spoken after Hindenburg's death on August 2nd, 1934, broadcasted to German radio stations.

“Hindenburg is dead:
But Hindenburg lives on in his people!
He lives on in our hearts as the symbol of Germany's glorious history—
He lives on as the victor of Tannenberg—
He lives on as the field marshal of the World War—

He lives on as the father of a great people!

The fighters for Germany's freedom lower their flags before this great German in mourning, reverence, and gratitude:
Hindenburg appointed the Führer—Hindenburg has thus ushered in a new beginning for German history.
Hindenburg's living legacy for Germany is the Führer.
Loyalty to Hindenburg means loyalty to the Führer—and loyalty to the Führer means loyalty to Germany!
We are preparing ourselves for a new struggle for the future of our people."

"The Election of Adolf Hitler as Führer"

Speech following Hindenburg's death, delivered on August 14th, 1934 in Kiel.

"National Socialists! Fellow Germans!
Rarely has a speech been so difficult for me to deliver as this one, for it is difficult to have to justify something that is as self-evident as Adolf Hitler's succession to Hindenburg: when someone like me has held the conviction for fourteen years that no one other than this man will one day master the fate of Germany, and when this conviction has grown stronger from year to year and, beyond the original

emotional attachment, has found its justification in a seemingly endless series of proofs of Adolf Hitler's superior leadership — then it is really difficult today, after the practical fulfillment of the fourteen-year-old demand, to stand up and gather together the individual reasons that are supposed to justify Adolf Hitler now being the supreme and sole Führer of the German people.

I had the good fortune—whether by chance or by destiny—to enter a small room at the Sterneckerbräu in Munich in the summer of 1920, where a man who was completely unknown to me at the time, a certain Adolf Hitler, was giving a lecture to a dozen people; this lecture was to develop a new political program, and it was given in such a clear, logical, and convincing manner. This man expressed what I myself, after returning home from the war, had vaguely and emotionally envisioned as a prerequisite for the salvation of the nation; he outlined a new Germany that was close to the heart of the front-line soldier—a Germany that I suddenly knew had to be made real!

This man combined his sweeping passion with convincing logic and astonishing expertise. An unheard-of faith flowed from him — I had never experienced anything like it before. It was particularly strange that I and other listeners with common sense did not laugh out loud when he and his few followers said in all seriousness, as if in a vision, the day would come when the flag of the new movement, for whose victory he was fighting for, would fly over the Reichstag, over the Berlin Palace, indeed over every German house, as the victorious symbol of a new, honorable, nationalist and socialist Germany.

At that moment — back then in the Sterneckerbräu — there were only two possibilities: either to leave this "fool" immediately, or — as I did — to take up the conviction that this man, or no other, would save Germany! I expressed this conviction to a friend in the same words, and from that very evening I became the most ardent admirer and devoted follower of this leader of mine.

When the rest of the world laughed and mocked at that time and for many years afterward, and when the newspapers poured out their venom and scorn on this "madman" — nothing could shake my faith and my willingness to give my everything for this man, just as this man himself never doubted himself or his mission.

I still remember how, shortly after I first met him, when I visited Adolf Hitler in the small room he rented in Munich, he threw down a Munich newspaper that sought to ridicule him and his ideas in a fit of rage, as he exclaimed to me: "I will prove to them whether I am to be taken seriously or not!"

But his opponents did not take him seriously at that time, nor for a long time afterward - and fortunately! For that was probably the gravest mistake made by Adolf Hitler's opponents: that they did not recognize early enough the danger he posed to them; thus, they missed the opportunity to neutralize him and his then still small following—to trample down the weak little plant that later grew into the gnarled tree that withstood all storms.

But like so much else in the Führer's life, it was probably predestined by fate that those around him were blind enough to fight him for so long with only nothing but ridicule, wasting precious time in the process; the providence of which the Führer often speaks so faithfully of saved him and his movement from destruction, preserving both for their purposes.

I knew this Adolf Hitler when he still wore a worn field-gray coat and, often hungry, roamed the streets of Munich at night with a few loyal followers, putting up posters: armed with a thick oak stick, this was how he all too often fought in the most primitive way with his opponents, with the supporters of the USPD[9]

[9] The Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, which lasted from 1918 to 1931 when the majority of its members were merged into Germany's Communist Party.

and the Spartacus League, but sometimes also with any supporter of the bourgeois party, because they did not like the posting of these posters with primitive truths.
I still remember how, at the head of his “overall party,” which met in a small restaurant, he disrupted rallies of Bavarian separatists, always exposing himself to the greatest danger; the most astonishing thing was that, despite all these small-scale operations and “detailed projects,” this man never lost sight of the big picture - as the leader of his followers, he repeatedly developed the vision of the future that he had in mind with overwhelming generosity.
I saw this man in the later years of his movement's ups and downs, in moments of severe setbacks, when his followers were often close to despair —but it was always he who lifted up the faint-hearted, inspiring them with new fire and spreading new faith among them - I was with him in Landsberg Fortress when all seemed lost, when his movement fell apart in the strife between the sub-leaders, when there was a danger that he, the only one who could still save the day, would have to remain behind bars for another four to five years due to the cancellation of his probation period! At that time, when the prospect of realization was zero, he developed his program anew; at that time, he explained how he would rebuild the movement, adapted to the new circumstances, renouncing all illegality; at that time, as always, he proved himself a master at adapting to new situations, at radically breaking with paths he had recognized as outdated or impracticable.
With the confidence of a great leader, he predicted to me, in the midst of the seemingly final collapse of his work, that he would only need a few years to rebuild the movement, and that after seven years he would represent the power in Germany that was necessary to impose his will on his internal opponents - this was at the turn of 1924/25, and seven years later, it was 1932!
It was that year in which the forces of the past tried in vain to prevent the final victory of National Socialism; it was the year in which all means of fighting Hitler and his movement proved ineffective, and indeed, all attacks with the weapons of shameless lies and slander ultimately turned to his advantage.
More than once, the Führer said at the time: ‘The others can do what they want: if an idea is right in itself, if it is consistently followed, if the movement fighting for it is constructively and logically structured, if the leadership tenaciously pursues its goal despite all setbacks, then victory must one day be its due with mathematical certainty - yes, the longer our opponents are able to delay our victory, the more overwhelming it must be; the overripe fruit will, so to speak, fall into the movement's lap!’
These words from the decisive year of 1932 contain the explanation for the suddenness and totality of the National Socialists' seizure of power in 1933, which was particularly inexplicable to foreign countries.

Looking back, I am convinced that even the delay in victory—the period of preparation of our people, which often seemed endless, and the fourteen years of struggle before the seizure of power—was a fateful necessity - it was a fateful necessity, as in the life of the Führer, that his parents were to die in his early age, which taught him real hardship at a young age; the hardship that forced him to become a construction worker taught him to understand the hardship of his fellow human beings and allowed him to experience the fate of the “proletariat”; the struggle for daily bread and for the most primitive means of cultural education at that time left the Führer with a strong sense of solidarity with his working-class compatriots forever.
The years he spent on the front lines of the World War were necessary for him because it taught him to respect danger, because it toughened him up, and because it brought him together with all strata of the German people; it made him realize how futile class snobbery and class pride is — because it finally taught him to feel with the people and speak the language of the people.

The revolt of 1918 was a necessary part of Adolf Hitler's destiny because, despite its criminal leadership, it cleared away many obstacles from a bygone era that would later have caused difficulties for the National Socialist revolution; at the same time, the revolt of 1918 was accompanied by signs of decay, and the international forces and their devastating effects on the German people were so exposed that the psychological conditions were created to enable the harsh recovery measures of the later National Socialist regime.

The attempt to seize power in November 1923 was as much a fateful necessity as the bloody collapse of this attempt: if the Führer had not acted at that time, the masses of his followers would later have lost faith in him as a true leader when he repeatedly had to urge them to be patient when the seizure of power was continually delayed; only the seriousness of his actions in November 1923, documented in blood, had proven that, if necessary, he was capable of making the final decisive decision, and that it was not cowardice that had determined him to refrain from using force in the years before 1933.

As early as 1923, the National Socialists were not allowed to come to power because at that time, neither the people nor the National Socialist leadership were ready for each other, which in 1933 was self-evident to everyone in Germany, but in 1923 must have seemed presumptuous; the supporters of the parties of yesteryear had not yet sufficiently recognized the incompetence of their leaders.

By a hair's breadth, fate prevented the Führer from coming to power as early as 1932; if he had gained power then, other men would have also come to power who were his enemies at heart, and who, as members of the government, could have caused serious damage later on.

And was it not divine providence that the elderly field marshal and Reich President was able to lend his name and protective hand to the young National Socialist regime for so long, until Adolf Hitler's leadership was finally proven at home and abroad and his name had acquired the resonance necessary to take over the overall leadership of the Reich?

Providence has clearly played a role in Adolf Hitler's life - this is the only way to understand how this man, born into the family of a minor civil servant, has risen through hardship and deprivation without any help; yes, in a struggle against a world full of powerful opponents, against the power of the press, against the power of capital, against the powerful parties at home, and against the international forces abroad, it was he who rose to become the Führer of one of the foremost nations on earth, the Chancellor of the German Reich, the holder of the office of Reich President - a miracle has taken place, the likes of which we can hardly find in history; in a time of greatest need, a people has produced the man it needed to save it; a historical experience whose laws are unexplored by men finds confirmation here; as great as the need of our people is, so great is the man who had to come to master it.

Providence gave him gifts and powers to use the favorable and unfavorable circumstances he encountered, and which developed over time, to achieve his goal: the salvation of Germany!

Providence acts through him in ways that are inexplicable, yet visible to all who are fortunate enough to be able to follow his work at close quarters - how often did he say to me: “I know that this decision of mine, or this action of mine, is right; I cannot say why at the moment, but I feel that it is right, and developments will prove that it is right” - with unerring certainty, it later always became apparent that this inexplicable feeling had guided the Führer safely.

A great historian — [Heinrich von] Treitschke — considers the ability to see things correctly to be the decisive factor for a statesman, and is more important than talent; no leader has ever had this ability more strongly than Hitler — we find proof of this in his speeches since 1920 - rarely have political conditions and future developments been seen and predicted more accurately, and rarely have the conclusions been drawn more clearly, thanks to the ability to break down the most difficult and complicated things and

questions into broad and simple principles, tracing them back to their clear origins: it is the “simple mind” of genius that always sees what is essential and obvious.
The ability to see correctly, which historians consider as essential, indeed more essential than talent, is combined in the Führer not only with talent, but with genius; the ability to see correctly, combined with genius, and both then combined with the workings of providence, gives us the explanation for the miracle that has taken place before our eyes in recent years, especially ever since Hitler came to power.
Is not the transformation that has taken place in our people a miracle - this rediscovery of themselves, of the sources of their strength, this reawakening of their pride and sense of honor, their will to assert themselves before the world, this liberation from all international poisons, from the manifestations of decay in all areas of their lives! Is it not a miracle that Adolf Hitler succeeded in such a short time in achieving such an overwhelming victory in the battle of labor, in utilizing untapped forces—utilizing them for the necessities of daily life as well as for great cultural assets, which will one day, in the form of mighty highways, canals, and monumental buildings, tell future generations of the Hitler era of the German people? Is it not a miracle when a nation that was divided into bitterly feuding classes and estates, into solitary petty statism, into Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and so on — now works together in mutual understanding for the great, common tasks and for the preservation of the people and the nation?
As I said at the beginning, I do not know how else to justify that Hitler and only Hitler can be the Führer - who else could be named who would be more worthy and capable of holding the office of Reich President, the supreme leader of the Reich's destiny?

Perhaps one could object that it is not good to concentrate all power in one hand - to that person, I would say that in times of great hardship for their people, the Romans once handed over all power to a young and energetic man—and the Romans knew how to lead states! They knew that “men make history”; they knew that in times of crisis, personalities must take the helm, personalities who are connected to the living essence of their people.
Perhaps another would object that it is not good for one man specifically to hold all power in his hands; after all, even an Adolf Hitler could run the risk of exercising his autocratic rule arbitrarily and recklessly! To that I can only reply: there is no greater protection against the abuse of office by parliamentary bodies or the division of power than the conscience of a moral personality; I know from my knowledge of Adolf Hitler as a person that no one can feel more responsible to his conscience and act on his conscience for his people than he does: over the years, I have seen how he wrestled with responsible decisions, postponing them in order to consult again and again with colleagues and experts until he was certain that he had impeccable documentation for his decisions; I know how many sleepless nights it cost him just to decide to declare Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations; I know how, here too, he listened again and again to the objections of all those who had objections to raise; I know how he did not rest until he had refuted the objections with his clear logic - only then did he make the final decision and at the same time assume sole responsibility.
His conscience, his responsibility to his people and to history, are the Führer's final and highest authority; however, he checks the correctness of his actions in the big picture by turning to the people themselves from time to time; they will confirm his leadership again and again.
He knows that his honor and his work are at stake; he cannot hide his responsibility behind the decisions of irresponsible parliamentary majorities, as the statesmen of almost all other nations do. But this does not inhibit his actions; necessary decisions are not delayed or watered down by parliamentary representatives or any other division of power, for, where necessary, he can intervene and take decisive action with

lightning speed - this, above all, is the reason why, in times of need for states and peoples, an absolute leader—provided he has the ability to be a true leader—is a necessity, indeed a prerequisite for the preservation of the life of the state and the people.
Treitschke calls autocracy the best or worst form of government, depending on the personality of the autocrat; we know that Adolf Hitler was born to be a leader and called to be a leader, for his entire life's work has revealed him to be a personality of the highest moral character - as an autocrat, he thus gives the German people the best form of government, and in its hour of need — heaven knows — our people finally need the best form of government!
A leader who wants only to serve his people is also, in the great question of the people's destiny abroad, in the desire to maintain peace, a better guarantor than parliamentary majorities, which, lacking decisiveness at the decisive moment, stumble their peoples into misfortune, just as, in the words of Lloyd George, they stumbled the peoples into the World War - Adolf Hitler has had a decisive impact on the peace of the European nations, not only through his speeches, but also through the speed and decisiveness of his statesmanlike decisions, especially in the critical last few weeks; even if hostile states do not want to admit this today, later historiography will recognize it.

German compatriots! Be fully aware of the foreign policy significance of the vote on August 19th and make it clear—each in your own sphere of influence—to your family members, your work colleagues, your relatives, and indeed to everyone you come into contact with; bear in mind that the whole world is watching with bated breath to see whether a united German people will give their Führer their word of loyalty.
Hundreds of thousands of newspaper writers are waiting to report the supposed collapse of National Socialism to their readers, to report it if even a couple less Germans vote on August 19th than on November 12th; they hope for the collapse of National Socialism because they know that this would mean the collapse of Germany.
With its declaration of loyalty on August 19th, the German people are sending a message to other countries: we Germans see Adolf Hitler as the Führer destined for us by fate; we Germans approve of what he has done for Germany, both internally and externally, and trust his decisions for the future; Germany sees Adolf Hitler as Hindenburg's appointed successor, and it is now the entire German people who give Adolf Hitler the honorary title that the National Socialist movement has long given him: the Führer.
This word is much more than a title; it is a confession and a certainty: My Führer!
And the German people further say to foreign countries: Adolf Hitler shall be and remain our Führer, because his policies are the policies of the entire German people; his rule guarantees the stability of the balance of power in Germany, and in his name and through his movement, the unification of Germany into a united Reich has been accomplished. Because we want to remain a united and unified German Reich, we want to see Adolf Hitler at the head of this Reich; because we know that under his leadership, power struggles between individual personalities or individual interest groups are unthinkable and impossible, we want to see him as Germany's representative at the head of Germany.
Through him, fate has carried out its will: to save Germany from the hunger and misery of Bolshevism; we firmly believe that saving Germany from Bolshevism was linked to saving Europe from the danger of red destruction, and we Germans consider it our duty to thank fate by confirming this man as the Führer of Germany.

On August 19th, the German people will further say to foreign countries: we want what was begun in Hitler's name to be continued in his name - the fight against unemployment, the pacification of consciences, the moral renewal of German youth, and the strengthening of the concept of honor in being German. We Germans show that Hitler wants what we all want: economic balance with all the peoples of the world, and a people who have the same need for political and military peace with all other peoples of the earth, so that prosperity and culture may once again bring happiness to the peoples after decades of decline and destruction.
On August 19th, we say to our Führer: with you, we are bound together in an indissoluble great unity in the struggle for Germany's future; with you, we long for the preservation of peace, and are ready, at your command, to defend the peace of our people.
We are happy and proud to see a great man of history among us in our lifetime as a son of our people. He is already leading us today; the affirmation with which we acknowledge his leadership before the world is also our thanks to him.

German workers! I would like to say to you in particular: be proud that it is a man of the German working class whom you are to confirm as Germany's leader on August 19th; be proud that it is one of your own whom you can symbolically call out to on August 19th: we want to see you, Adolf Hitler, a German worker, in the place of the German Reich Chancellor and the German Reich President! Where kings, emperors, and presidents stood as leaders of the German people, visible far and wide in history, there, according to our will, according to the will of the German people, stands for the first time an exemplary German worker, a worker who knows how hard his former comrades in misfortune still have to struggle for their meager daily bread, and whose thoughts and aspirations are focused above all on improving their lot as quickly as possible.
My fellow German citizens! You will give Adolf Hitler your votes, and when you are asked why you voted for him, you can answer: we voted for Adolf Hitler because:
He is the man in whom the experience of the front lines has matured into a worldview that is the foundation for a new beginning in German history;
Strength and courage has distinguished him as a role model in the five-to-ten year struggle against a hostile world;
He always acts at the decisive moment, putting himself on the line, and thus showing that he is a heroic leader;
He has proved through his deeds and his life that he is the embodiment of all that is good in the German people;
He does nothing for himself, but everything for Germany and everything for the future of his people;
He has given us all a new faith in Germany;
He has made our lives meaningful again by teaching us to recognize what we German people are here for in the world,
And he is the executor of the will of a higher power.
In short: because he is a true leader!

With all our votes, we Germans will say on August 19th:
‘To you, Führer, we pledge our loyalty — Adolf Hitler, we believe in you!’”

“To the International Road Builders”

Speech at the opening of the Seventh International Road Congress on September 3rd, 1934, at the Munich Residence, where fifty nations were represented by leading figures in transportation, engineers, and technicians.

“Ladies and gentlemen!

On behalf of the Führer and the Reich government, and thus on behalf of the German people, I have the honor of welcoming the participants of this congress, my fellow citizens, and especially the foreign delegates representing nearly fifty countries who are present here.

We are grateful that three years ago, the International Permanent Association of Road Congresses, which has been so fruitful in its work, decided that this conference should now take place in Germany in 1934; the meeting here in Munich is also a festive anniversary of the now twenty-five years of work of the International Permanent Association, whose leading figures are assured their recognition for their great achievements. Since the decision on the date and location of this congress was made long before the National Socialists came to power in Germany, it is a mere coincidence that this congress is now being held here; however, it is a fortunate coincidence for us because we welcome the opportunity for such a large number of men who are important in their fields—and who are accustomed to seeing things clearly and soberly—to come to Germany and see for themselves what this new Germany has achieved in the short time since the seizure of power, both in general and in their own fields of work in particular; we welcome this above all because we know that your factual report, based on your own observations, will help to correct the image that the world still has of the new Germany among the decision-makers in your countries.

We also believe that, on the other hand, it is valuable and inspiring for the congress participants that this congress is now taking place in Germany, because Germany—which is considered one of the leading countries in technology and technical progress—can show you the construction efforts in your own field of interest from the most recent period of creation, which are certainly among the most modern currently being built in this field; I consider it particularly fortunate that you will be able to view these structures at the most diverse and, for the expert, the most interesting stages of their development.

It is the wish of the German Reich government, and it is the wish of all of us in Germany, that you, gentlemen delegates from abroad, make the most of the opportunities for viewing; do not limit yourselves to what is of professional interest to you, but take a look at everything that can give you a picture of the newly formed German Reich; it goes without saying that we, as the host country, will do everything we can to facilitate these visits and to make your stay as pleasant as possible.

Take a look at our Labor Service camps; take a look at the youth country homes, the “Strength Through Joy” events, the land reclamation measures, the river regulations; take a look at all the visible evidence of our efforts to revive the economy and combat unemployment; take an unbiased look at the people on the streets and the expressions on their faces - those of you who had the opportunity to observe Germany before the National Socialists came to power will be particularly struck by how remarkably people have changed, how the former bitterness and tension on their faces has been replaced by an expression of calm confidence and hopeful joy; you will also notice that in places of community life, all class differences have given way to a sense of togetherness.

I am not suggesting that you broaden the scope of your observations in Germany so that you will praise our work, because we are already convinced that everything we are doing not only serves our own people well—in some cases far into the future— but because we believe that we can set an example for the rest of the world, insofar as it finds itself in a similar economic situation to Germany, that is, suffering above all from unemployment and its accompanying effects; however, I must emphasize that not every country—even if it must acknowledge the correctness of our methods for combating unemployment and our overall performance based on the results—can simply copy our methods, because the political conditions are usually different for them.

Gentlemen, I would like to emphasize that I do not intend to give a political speech here, but am merely stating facts which, in our opinion, are prerequisites for achieving success in the areas that we have tackled, without any intention of promoting the new system of government or its supporters, or even influencing the participants of this congress; I am merely pointing out facts that cannot be overlooked when dealing with economic problems such as road construction in the new Germany and its prerequisites - the world may or may not be sympathetic to the National Socialist system, but there is one thing it must acknowledge, and you, gentlemen, who are here from abroad, will also have to acknowledge it personally: the results of this system of government in our country are such that, in view of the great crisis the world is currently experiencing, and in view of the needs of other countries, it seems at least advisable not to reject our form of government outright, but to study it in any case.

It should give us pause for thought that in another country, which is governed according to broadly the same principles, the results are similar: as is well known, Italy, like us, has achieved significant works and, above all, a magnificent road system in a very short time under fascism; you know, and the world knows, that we have broken new ground, especially in political terms, that we have replaced the democracy of our country with a system of quick decision-makers who are also fully accountable, supported by experts in their respective fields; it is a system that enables quick decisions independent of protracted and watered-down negotiations by respective parliamentary majorities; it is a system that implements what has been recognized as right with determination and in the shortest possible time - it is only thanks to this system that the autobahns in particular could be tackled in such a surprisingly short time after Hitler came to power.

Thanks to his initiative, Germany's autobahns—the Führer's own idea—were tackled quickly and on a grand scale; the Führer entrusted the execution of his plan to a general inspector for road construction who reported directly to him, Dr. Todt, whom you all know as your host and Germany's representative; he has thus removed the project from administrative bureaucracy and has instead entrusted it to the free design of creative will.

From the standpoint of national-imperialist thinking—with which the National Socialist ideology is all too easily confused with, intentionally or unintentionally, abroad—Germany would have no particular interest in setting an example and, accordingly, in making it as easy as possible for foreign experts to visit the relevant work sites; for us Germans however, national-imperialist considerations are not decisive, but only higher considerations: we view the world – from an economic perspective – as a system of mutually complementary national entities, so that crises in one part of it also affect the other parts, meaning that unemployment and poverty in individual states do not remain without repercussions for the rest.

I believe that developments since the end of the war, with dictates and international treaties that take no account of this, have proven this sufficiently; we are aware of the repercussions of this situation, and we can therefore only hope that our experiences and the visible results of our work will also be fruitful for other states - we are prepared—as far as it depends on us—to do everything we can to facilitate the exchange of these experiences in order to overcome the global economic crisis through joint action!

German road construction is largely based on two considerations - on the one hand, modern traffic requires that roads be brought into the best possible condition that the state of the art allows, and on the other hand, the German road construction program reflects the idea of creating jobs to overcome unemployment. Transport policy requirements, with as much consideration as possible given to aesthetic aspects, both for the effect of the road on the landscape and for the effect of the landscape on road users,

dictate the route of new roads in Germany; the nature of their technical construction and the characteristics of their engineering are adapted to the economic and transport requirements of the moment, taking into account developments that can reasonably be expected.
Transport hubs are not only connected according to the volume of goods transported on these routes, but also take into account the need for people to come together, as the existence of the state is based on mutual recognition and understanding.
The plans for our modern German road construction are closely linked to the desire to consolidate the political unity of the Reich achieved by National Socialism for centuries to come; the transport network currently under construction in Germany will also fulfill the requirement for Reich unity in the field of transport - this is a demand that two patriots, who were not fully understood in their time, once fought for: Friedrich Lüders with his design for a German road network in 1779, and Friedrich List with his design for a German railway network in the first half of the 19th century; even back then, they both saw what we are now turning into reality, namely that properly constructed transport routes are solid rings that bind the people and the space given to them by nature and providence into an indissoluble unity.
For us, the road is not only a practical value in terms of time, nor only a symbol of German engineering, science, and economic prowess; instead, the road has once again become a political and historical document of the times, by which posterity will judge us - even today, the Roman roads in our country bear witness to the creative power of a great people under the leadership of powerful personalities.
Work on the implementation of the Führer's road construction program has so far provided work, wages, and bread for around 150,000 workers on construction sites and over 200,000 in supply factories, yet not even a full year has passed since September 23rd, 1933, the day the Führer embarked on the great work of the Reichautobahns - by the end of 1934, the total number of people directly and indirectly employed on the Reich motorways alone will reach 250,000; around 150,000 will find work in the complementary expansion of the Reich and state highways.
According to expert estimates, employment will continue at the same level for six to seven years; the German economy receives annual orders worth 700 to 800 million Reichsmarks from the work on the Reichsautobahnen and the existing road network.
The extent of the technical achievement can be gauged from the following figures: a total of approximately 690 million cubic meters of earth will be moved for the construction of the Reich highways, and approximately 33 million cubic meters of concrete will be used; the design of the roads according to artistic criteria, corresponds to the cultural level of the German people - we consider the simple monumentality of practicality to be the artistic form that corresponds to the spirit of our era.

Gentlemen delegates! We have been criticized by other countries for investing our money in large domestic projects, such as the Reichsautobahnen, instead of meeting our debt obligations, but in my opinion, the problem of German job creation cannot be linked to that of debt obligations – I would like to explain why: if we do not mobilize millions of our unemployed for practical work, if we do not give them wages and bread, then the workforce lies idle, consuming without being able to create, from an economic point of view - like no other people on earth, we could not and would not allow our unemployed compatriots to perish; we would have to support them, we would have to finance their lives, even if their labor could not be used to create value from which the workers themselves and other compatriots could live.
When we came to power, we saw millions of people condemned to idleness; on the other hand, we saw that all the materials we needed for road construction were available within our borders - what could be

more obvious than to solve the question of mobilizing manpower and materials—a question of organization, in other words—by organizational means? In this way, we transformed existing labor and existing materials into values that are capable of producing newer values over time; the highways satisfy an immediate need, but they also create new demand, the satisfaction of which in turn means new work processes.

It is a fundamental mistake to believe that one could just as well use this labor force and the materials available domestically to pay off debts; paying off debts means exporting, whether directly in the form of money or in the form of goods, and we can only export money in the form of currency that is valid between countries, which would be foreign exchange! We can only obtain this by selling goods abroad. However, as is well known, the possibility of selling German goods abroad has been considerably restricted in recent times, not through our own fault, but even against our will - political considerations and antipathy toward our system of government have, however, and at least temporarily, we hope, prevailed over economic rationality. Creditor countries have long refused to accept payment of debts in the form of goods, in order to avoid further increases in unemployment in their own countries, and we have already delivered most of our national wealth that can be transferred abroad; the rest of the world has restricted trade with us, thereby depriving us of the opportunity to pay our debts; therefore, it cannot expect us to refrain from making productive use of the available labor and materials in our own country - many parts of the world do not want our goods, so we must find other uses for the human resources that were previously used to produce them.

It should also be borne in mind that only a fraction of the funds required for the construction of the highways is borne by the state in the form of the expenditure necessary for a corresponding number of unemployed persons: thirty-five percent of the total funds spent by the Reich on work on the Reichautobahns would have to be paid to the workers now employed as unemployment benefits, while twenty-five to thirty percent flows back into the state coffers in the form of taxes and levies via those directly and indirectly involved in the construction - in fact, therefore, only about thirty-five to forty percent of the construction costs have to be spent by the state beyond what the state would have to pay if the highways were not built; at least a significant portion of this remainder will indirectly flow back into the national income over time as a result of the general economic effects of the new national wealth created in the form of highways - the construction of highways, therefore, is socialism in the best sense of the word.

Beyond the material aspect, it should not be forgotten that the reemployment of a correspondingly large number of people who were previously unemployed has an incalculable psychological effect on the people involved; the demoralizing effect of unemployment is well known, as is the great importance of reintegrating the people concerned into the working community—even if, for the time being, this can only be under meager living conditions. The relatively low wages that can initially be paid to workers on the Autobahns in Germany are due to the limited public funds available and the consideration that, otherwise, higher wages would make it impossible to carry out this huge project, which is being financed by the community as a whole; the workers, as unemployed persons, would be exposed to even more meager living conditions.

With the deployment of hundreds of thousands of working hands for the road, we are at the same time recognizing its growing importance, after the belief had prevailed until recently that the road was steadily losing importance compared to the rail; the problem of road or rail no longer exists for us, because it cannot be decided theoretically, but depends in practice on what science and technology make of it in one

area or the other: with the perfection of the railroad, the road had indeed lost importance until the motor car recaptured it; its importance rose again in line with the growing expansion of automobile traffic.
There is no competition between the two modes of transport in Germany, as they have been brought into a relationship of organic complementarity: the two modes of transport complement each other in that the transport of large bulk goods will probably remain the job of the railways for a long time to come, whereas the car, thanks to its technical perfection, is likely to outstrip the railways in terms of general cargo and passenger transport. The smaller unit of the automobile means a greater degree of individualization of transport, both in terms of time independence and spatial direction; not having to wait until, for example, a sufficient quantity of general cargo is ready for transport in a railroad car, as well as the possibility of transporting goods using the smallest side roads and thus not being dependent on railroad cars, often means saved time and greater efficiency, especially since there is no need for storage and transshipment; on the other hand, mass transport by rail remains cheaper and less dependent on weather conditions such as fog, snow, and icing.
Recently, a combination of the two transport options has even been developed, whereby loaded motor vehicles or their cargo containers are transported by rail and, conversely, loaded rail cars are transported to their final destination on motorized tractors.
Full utilization of the high speeds achievable by motor vehicles is prevented by the exponential increase in tire wear; this makes highways all the more important, as they enable high average speeds without the need for high maximum speeds by eliminating sharp curves and populated areas that reduce speed, intersections that cause delays, railroad crossings, etc.; in addition, the associated significant reduction in braking results in savings in materials, and thus in national assets that are difficult to quantify in numerical terms, but are very considerable overall, with the added bonus of a large increase in the safety coefficient.
The advantages of the Reichsautobahnen were the reason for placing them at the center of the German road construction program, for which they have become the epitome worldwide; the Reichsautobahnen are primarily what is meant when people talk about modern German road construction—they were also what the Führer had in mind when he gave it a motto in a major speech on May 1st, 1933: ‘We are setting up a program that we do not want to leave to posterity, the program of our new road construction; a gigantic task that requires billions - we will remove the obstacles to it and begin the task on a grand scale...”
In accordance with these words of the Führer, I believe I can say today: this task has been begun on a grand scale.

Gentlemen delegates of the Seventh International Road Congress! I have endeavored to convey to you the thoughts that we Germans associate with road construction as such, and especially with the new Reichsautobahnen; in the course of your conference, you as experts will be able to deal intensively with the individual problems that are of particular interest to you, and you will not have expected me, as a non-expert, to touch on all the issues that are of essential concern to you; I have endeavored to show you how deeply interested Germany's political leadership is in your work, and I hope to have demonstrated to you that this seventh conference is being held in a country that fully understands the great importance of the issues that are of particular concern to you.
Gentlemen, I need not explain at length to you the importance of the major roads that crisscross the countries for mutual understanding and for the understanding of peoples - we Germans, at any rate, hope that foreign guests of every nationality will travel on the major Reichautobahns in order to take home with

them knowledge of our country, its people, and their aspirations; the more the major thoroughfares of neighboring countries are harmonized with each other, the more the major roads of the nations will contribute to everyday travel and growing international traffic, and the more the peoples will come to recognize each other; we know that this will lead to an honest assessment of our people, and that their peaceful aspirations and self-confident desire for recognition of their honor and equality will be understood to the same extent that visitors from foreign countries see how we Germans respect the characteristics and desires of other peoples - on the basis of mutual respect among nations, a consolidation of political and economic relations will then take place as soon as possible.
It was also with this in mind that the Führer had the German Reichautobahns built - recognize, gentlemen delegates from abroad, his desire for peace through peaceful and creative work, which he and his colleagues have expressed more than once; may this international congress also contribute to promoting the desire for peace among all peoples, and may the fact that the International Permanent Association of Road Congresses is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary not in France, the historical country of road construction, but in Germany, be seen as a good omen for the understanding between the two peoples, for whose mutual welfare a secure peace is a prerequisite.
The German Reich government and the German people hope that this congress will be instructive for all of you, and we hope that the experiences and insights in the fields of German science and technology will benefit other nations, just as our experts will certainly learn and expand their knowledge through this congress - just as this exchange of ideas and knowledge will undoubtedly benefit all participating countries, so too may a general exchange of the intellectual and material goods of the peoples, developed on an equal basis, be revived; that is our wish for all nations on this earth, which is tormented by the joylessness of millions!
May the work of this conference be crowned with success!”

“Statement by the German Leadership”

Certain circles abroad used the upcoming Saar referendum in 1935 as an opportunity to launch a smear campaign in the press in order to influence the outcome of the vote; in particular, they spread lies about divisions within the German leadership. To refute these lies, the leadership of the German people gathered at the Berlin State Opera on January 3rd, 1935, for a rally of unity and loyalty to the Führer.

“The leaders of the party and the state are gathered here to express to you, my Führer, our devotion, which is so self-evident, in public, in response to the lies and rumors spread abroad—which are probably intended primarily to influence the Saar referendum.
As Commander-in-Chief of the Wehrmacht, the gratitude and best wishes of the Wehrmacht present here have already been conveyed to you at the turn of the year; as leader of the National Socialist movement, I bring you the heartfelt thanks of your old political fighting forces, the NSDAP, and the passionate wishes of your old political comrades-in-arms - may your energy continue to work for the benefit of young Germany in the coming year.

Gathered around you, my Führer, are these men who, according to your will, were allowed to help build the new Germany; in particular, the men who fought for the foundations of this new Germany in the movement you created — men welded together after long years of a hard and difficult struggle for power — are united in boundless love and reverence for you, who long before the seizure of power had become the epitome of a leader par excellence.
We look with deep emotion at the transformation of Germany during the two years of your chancellorship; we stand by you in the inner bond that is created by shared suffering, shared joy, and shared successes; it is a bond which gives you the certainty that your leaders will continue to carry out your orders with unwavering loyalty in the coming period, for you and your work - that is, for the new Germany of honor and greatness.
The leaders of the Wehrmacht have joined your old loyal followers as equally steadfast pillars of the state; our shared work for Germany and our love for Germany — once proven together on the front lines of the World War — unites us all in mutual trust and loyal comradeship in battle.
Together, the leaders of the party and the state—your paladins, your generals and admirals, your ministers—greet you as the leader of Germany with gratitude and reverence.

“To the Saarlanders”

Speech at the opening of the state ceremony marking the official transfer of the Saar region on March 1st, 1935 in Saarbrücken.

“Fellow German citizens of the Saar!

Today, the German people are celebrating one of the most wonderful holidays in their history - with one voice, all of Germany is celebrating with gratitude and pride the return of the Saar to the German motherland. This return is based on the impressive declaration made on the historic day of January 13th, 1935, when it was irrevocably documented before the world for all time: the Saar is German—the Saar will remain German!

I am happy to be able to celebrate Germany's peaceful victory here in the Saarland!
I am proud to be able to once again express Germany's gratitude to you, the people of the Saar, for your fifteen-year struggle for your German identity and for the historically exemplary attitude with which you have borne the suffering of the past decade and a half – a suffering borne for your immediate homeland and for the homeland of us all, for Germany!
What a change since I last saw this country and this city; what a desperate mood there was in those first days of November 1918, in those darkest days of German history! Compatriot stood against compatriot, and one piece of news of shame and dishonor followed another; armistice terms were announced to the world and accepted by Germany's representatives, terms never before imposed on any nation: all weapons, artillery, aircraft, the fleet were to be surrendered, and German territory handed over to foreigners. A few hours before the French entered Saarbrücken, I left this city in a single-seater from the St. Arnualaus airfield; my heart was heavy with sadness, and I was close to despair at the misfortune and disgrace of my country.
I had no idea what incredible happiness I would feel on the day I saw this German land and this city again for the first time - but today is that day!

You were torn from us in times of Germany's deepest disgrace! You were torn from us because the German people seemed to have given up on themselves at that time; you were torn from us because Germany renounced its power, and other nations and their politicians believed they could do as they pleased with this at-the-time powerless country; you were torn from us in disregard of the most primitive right to self-determination – a “right of self-determination of peoples” that was so often talked about in empty phrases at the time.
You are returning to us at a time when Germany has regained its honor; you are returning because the German people have found themselves again; you are returning because Germany is rising again to become a respected power that is acknowledged by the rest of the world! You are returning by your own will, through a commitment to Germany that could not be more impressive.
Fate has willed that you return to a homeland that is worthy of you—worthy of your fortitude during the fifteen years of suffering that lie behind you, worthy of your love for this homeland, which you showed to the world in the days of decision.
This homeland was dishonored - it surrendered land, property, and people because it lacked the leaders it needed in its darkest days; it only regained its honor and created the conditions for a new revival because a leader came who truly knew how to lead; you have declared your allegiance to this man, who is Germany today, by giving your vote to our great common homeland.

What I said before January 13th, I can now repeat today: it is good that the vote took place, because it showed the world how poorly it had been informed about a major political issue:
What untruths about the Saarland were written before the vote, indeed, in that entire fifteen years; how quickly the truth came to light when the people themselves were asked about the truth! Just as the Treaty

of Versailles was based on false assumptions with regard to the Saar, so it is in other areas - just as the world one day learned the truth about the Saar, so it will learn the rest of the truth in time.
Not long ago, it was said that the Saar wanted to return to Germany, but not to Adolf Hitler's Germany; we are therefore grateful to those who, in addition to the question of whether the Saar wanted to belong to Germany or France, also raised the question in the vote of whether the Saarland wanted to maintain the status quo for the time being and make a new decision about its fate at a later date; this is because those who did not want to join France, but also did not want to join present-day Germany, and only wanted to vote for Germany once the National Socialist regime had disappeared – as they hoped it would – could vote for the status quo - and what was the result, despite this option of voting for neither France nor the new Germany? Over ninety percent declared their allegiance to Adolf Hitler's Germany!
The world understood the historical significance of this vote—a historical significance not only for Germany, but also for National Socialism! Partly, the world remained silent in embarrassment, and partly, it could no longer help but bow in recognition of the power of indisputable facts, for even the last resort has been taken away from it: the resort of claiming, as it did in the elections in the rest of the Reich, that "Nazi terror" had forced the election result – indeed, that we had falsified it; this election took place under the control of the world itself, under the control of foreign commissioners and in the sphere of influence of foreign troops. Does anyone believe that the foreign troops were here to influence the vote in favor of the National Socialists? No! Rather, they enabled the enemies of National Socialism to dig and drill tirelessly, to protect the work of the status quo propagandists; rather than "Nazi terror", we can speak of terror from the other side, terror from the gentlemen of the status quo - yet despite this, the Germans of the Saar, with the same overwhelming majority as in the rest of the Reich, declared their allegiance to Adolf Hitler's Germany.
My fellow citizens! It was therefore a good thing that the other side did not accept the Führer's generous and magnanimous offer to return the Saar to Germany without a vote, by means of a short treaty; otherwise, the world would not have been shown so clearly and impressively the true will of the Saar people and the indisputable fact that the Germans want to be ruled by National Socialism.
In making his offer, the Führer was guided by the desire to do everything possible to promote peace and tranquility in Europe; he wanted to avoid a vote, which by its very nature was likely to cause unrest and discord among the peoples involved for some time to come. Since the vote had to take place anyway, Germany did everything in its power to prevent new hatred from arising and to avoid stirring up passions - how easy it would have been, and how easy it still is today, to whip up emotions simply by recalling the suffering and hardships of the Saarlanders over the past fifteen years!
But Adolf Hitler and his followers have no intention of preaching hatred; the people of the Saar can also be sure that the suffering they endured for their Germany will never be forgotten.
Adolf Hitler's policies have turned the terrible saying that the Saar is the powder keg of Europe into its opposite: by allowing the German will to prevail here, by ensuring that justice was done and that a people received justice, this powder keg of Europe has become a concept that is directly and intrinsically linked to the pacification of Europe.
The Saar referendum has become more important for peace than anyone could have foreseen – not only because the clarity of the referendum result left no room for interpretation, and thus the fate of the Saar had to be decided quickly, but also because it — and this cannot be emphasized enough — it demonstrated to the world the fact, which had been repeatedly disputed by foreign countries, that the Germans are National Socialists of their own free will and conviction, and that the National Socialist regime stands unshakable, come what may!

Since the Saar vote, the world has had no choice but to acknowledge this fact, come to terms with it, and draw practical conclusions from it - its practical conclusions are: to find ways to establish a relationship of trusting cooperation with this great people in Central Europe, which is what this people and its Führer desire in the interests of peace; the Führer has shown the other great nations ways to achieve this goal, and it seems that since the Saar referendum, they have become more willing to follow these paths in order to bring about peace in Europe through joint efforts; this contribution to general appeasement, this promotion of the will for reconciliation between peoples, is the great gift that you, the people of the Saar, have given to Germany and to tormented humanity through your vote.

My fellow citizens! For fifteen years, the Saarland has been Germany's problem child; however, in those fifteen years, it has also become Germany's favorite child - it is historically symbolic that you, the people of the Saarland, fought for Germany for the same fifteen years that the Führer fought for Germany; just as the Führer triumphed for Germany, so you have triumphed for Germany; just as the German people thank the Führer, so they thank you: they thank you for bringing the German Saar back firmly within Germany's borders.
We salute the German Saar!
Join me in saying: German Saarland — Sieg Heil!"

"To the German Worker"

Speech following the proclamation of universal military conscription on the occasion of the election of works councils in all German companies; delivered on April 2nd, 1935, at the Reichsbahn Repair Works in Munich-Freimann, simultaneously broadcasted to German workers gathered in their companies for a joint reception.

"German workers! Today I am addressing you in particular, who have gathered at your workplaces throughout Germany for a community reception, whereas in my speeches I usually strive to address all

Germans in general; the external reason for this address is the upcoming election of works councils throughout Germany—the internal reason is my long-cherished desire to speak to German manual workers in particular.

To German manual workers: so many of you were among my best comrades on the front lines of the World War, and were among the most loyal and brave of them; many of us who stood at that time felt connected in a shared destiny, in a shared suffering, in a shared joy, with the naturalness with which a German front-line soldier stood up for another at that time; no one asked the other what his civilian profession was, what social class he belonged to, but only one criterion: how good is he as a soldier; can you rely on him when the going gets tough; is he a real man in battle; is he a good comrade outside of battle - I found these virtues in abundance in the German manual laborer.
Years now lie between then and now – years in which a gap opened up between manual laborers and other classes of the population; years in which hunger on the one hand and incompetent leaders on the other widened the gap more and more; years in which mutual understanding seemed impossible for all time; years that I can only look back on with reluctance, even sadness; years in which one could have despaired, had it not been for a new community similar to the community of the front: the community of the National Socialist movement, the SA and SS. There they stood together again, manual laborers, intellectuals, farmers, as soldiers of a new idea, and through all the tribulations they formed living proof that community is still possible, even after the war - yes, that mutual understanding can perhaps be even greater than before, if only there are leaders who, instead of dividing, bring people together and create a common platform; it is precisely in this new community that I have met so many manual workers who, once they had grasped the new idea and the new spirit, devoted themselves to it with unprecedented enthusiasm, and that is why I am particularly pleased to be able to address German workers in my speech today, because I know that the feeling of community and inner solidarity among all Germans who share the same fate has now spread to the German working class as a whole, and that the new spirit also prevails among the other classes in Germany—the discord of that time is hopefully buried now forever, and that above us all stands the great slogan: working together for our German people.

But I am addressing not only manual laborers, but also the large community of all those who work together in the business organizations of the economy: I am addressing you, workers of the brow, and you, workers of the fist, you engineers, ironworkers, plant managers, doctors, accountants, you miners, you farm workers, you working compatriots in general, whatever honorable title of work you may bear.
So I am speaking—albeit to a particular section of my German compatriots—but by no means to a separate class or caste; I am addressing the community of workers in the factories, who now stand together as they belong together in the places of production.
Today you know that manual workers cannot do useful work unless inventors and engineers set them tasks, unless plant managers regulate the work, unless merchants calculate the work, create the capital, and take care of sales; they have also become more aware than before that all their intellectual work, all their designing and calculating, is practically meaningless unless manual workers translate their ideas and designs into reality - you are dependent on each other and complement each other, just as the large working groups of the national community, such as farmers, workers, tradespeople, etc., complement each other and are dependent on each other, because one part cannot survive in the long run without the other.
How can this fundamental National Socialist insight be forgotten? How can so-called leaders once again play off the small individual interests of classes and social groups against each other, sometimes among

farmers, sometimes among workers, and sometimes among citizens, and place them above the common interests of the people?
We must all be constantly on guard against the emergence of new agitators using old Marxist methods, regardless of their guise - anyone who wants to attempt such agitation must know that the people themselves, in their awakened instincts, will defend themselves most fiercely against it, and all the more so because it knows that today's leaders form a community among themselves, and that it is their duty to compensate for any injustices that may arise through joint action, taking into account the greater interests of the people as a whole, on which the welfare of the class and the welfare of the individual depend on.
If you are about to vote, it is not a vote in the traditional sense; you are not to be won over, as in the past, to vote for a particular political direction in works council elections; you are not to elect representatives of any class party, but rather to choose men from among your own ranks who, as the name suggests, enjoy the trust of all of you as trustees and who, in this relationship of trust, settle issues between the individual members of the company.
Therefore, you will not be bombarded with accusations against other classes, against entrepreneurs, plant managers, etc., as you once were by the representatives of the old parties, nor will you receive a wonderful anthology of promises, most of which will then not be kept - above all, you will not be incited to fight against each other; instead, you should elect men who will help to ease the common struggle, for every company is, to a certain extent, engaged in a struggle, an economic struggle; you should elect men who will eliminate, or at least reduce, all the frictions that are bound to arise in a company - and we, who have been entrusted with the leadership of Germany, promise you only one thing: that we will continue to work honestly and do our best to improve the situation of our entire people, and thus of each individual member of that people, that we will do everything we can to ensure that, at least gradually, the situation of the community as a whole and of each individual member of the community improves.
(Applause)[10]
We know only too well that today many, many people, especially among the large mass of workers, still have to work under unsatisfactory, and in some cases even miserable, conditions; we know that the sacrifices demanded of you are great. But one thing is certain: at least these sacrifices will not be in vain, as in former times, but will lead to progress in the long run.
(Applause)
Your renunciation of higher wages is a sacrifice you are making for the benefit of those who have hitherto been completely outside the labor process, with the oppressive feeling of eking out an existence on the scraps of their fellow workers – where the support was too little to really live on and too much to die on. And they are able to bear the sacrifices all the more because they know that the National Socialist state also requires employers to use their profits primarily to put the previously unemployed back to work; you know that the National Socialist state, in its efforts to alleviate the misery of the unemployed and to provide the previously unemployed with income and bread, and to have them work for the benefit of the whole, has achieved a success that the rest of the world, and probably even the majority of its own people, did not think possible - the promise made by Adolf Hitler when he seized power, to fight unemployment with all means and all energy, has been fulfilled!
(Applause)

[10] In view of the historical significance of the first speech to German workers after the proclamation of universal military conscription, the applause of the thousands present in the Munich-Freimann was inserted into the text in accordance with the recording, as the first echo from the German working class to the Führer's historic act.

And another great promise of National Socialism has been fulfilled: the promise to integrate German workers into the national community as equal members of the people.
(Loud applause)
No one can deny today that manual laborers feel absolutely equal in the National Socialist state, and are equal in the eyes of all their fellow citizens.
(Applause)
I know that this idealistic aspect of National Socialism's success is more important to German workers than material improvement, however much they may desire it - nothing honors the German worker more than the fact that he wants to be recognized as equal in the first place.
(Loud applause)
It was the great fault of the former Marxist labor leaders that they belittled the worker in front of the rest of his fellow citizens by constantly emphasizing the term "proletarian," which we have overcome; the fault of the leaders of the bourgeoisie and other classes was that they artificially promoted their class consciousness and class pride and, by pointing to the emphasized proletarianism of others, widened the divide among the people.
We have bridged the divide, we have erased class concepts, and we will ensure that they never come back to life!
(Stormy, sustained applause)
Just as the NSDAP has always consciously described itself as a workers' party, encompassing everything that performs work in the concept of the worker, so, after seizing power, it has done everything to promote respect for work in all its forms among the people - on May 1st, "National Labor Day," this respect is brought to everyone's attention and is recalled annually, reminding everyone that work is an honor and that the work of all is honored; this day of mutual bitter class hatred of yesteryear has become a day of joyful solidarity among all the working people of our nation.
Understanding and respect for German workers was born out of shared struggle and shared suffering on the fronts of the World War; it is no coincidence that the first National Socialists were front-line soldiers and that, above all, the Führer himself, a simple man among his comrades from all walks of life, stood at the front throughout the long years of war - once he had experienced the hardship of manual labor and the often difficult fate of manual workers as a simple construction worker, he became fully aware, during the good and bad times he shared with many German workers in the trenches, in shelters, in quarters, in battle, and in times of peace, that they were just as good Germans as any other compatriots; he realized that, when necessary, German workers would devote themselves completely to the cause, even though many of them had nothing of material value to defend—and yet they fought with unparalleled dedication.
(Applause)
It must be emphasized again and again: the German worker did his duty fully and completely in the Great War.
(Loud applause)
What came as the end of the war is not his fault, but the fault of a few unscrupulous leaders.
(Applause)
And he did his duty just as well in building the new Germany.
Many, many workers before the seizure of power fought for the National Socialist Reich in the ranks of the movement; it was a struggle that was often even harder for them than for others, because they had to suffer particularly under the terror of their fellow workers who were still in the other camp; but when, after the seizure of power, the protectors and liars who had portrayed National Socialism in such a false

light were eliminated, the mass of the remaining German workers soon committed themselves to the new state with their own idealism.
I am not saying this to flatter the German worker, or even to make a special impression on him before the election; I state this out of a sense of justice towards our fellow citizens, who for a long time were regarded by large sections of the population as less nationalistic or even unpatriotic.
(Loud applause)
We are proud that it was members of all circles and classes of the German people who once stood their ground on the fronts of the World War and later in the struggle for the new Germany; in the Saar referendum and in the great referendums that Adolf Hitler had held, it was again the German workers who, side by side with their fellow Germans, fulfilled their duty and proved the allegations of foreign countries that they were standing aside to be lies.
(Applause)

It was only through this unprecedented unity with which the German people stood behind Adolf Hitler that he was able to lead them so successfully, as was the case in the years since he came to power; it was precisely because the German workers in particular followed him that Adolf Hitler was able to liberate Germany.
(Applause)

For his declaration of the reintroduction of universal conscription ...
(Stormy applause and repeated cheers interrupt the speech)
The declaration of conscription, which the world knows is already backed by power and backed by a corresponding number of soldiers in arms—a declaration that has disregarded essential provisions of the Versailles Treaty, which was already broken by the others—is tantamount to the proclamation of German freedom and independence.
(Endless storm of applause)
Since March 16th, 1935, we are once again a free people, and the world knows that our freedom can no longer be violated without our passionate resistance.
(Renewed thunderous applause)
Believe me: the world hears your thunderous applause: today, it knows once and for all that this people are different from the people of 1918!
(Enthusiastic approval)

The rebuilding of the German military is not only a moral matter—it is also a thoroughly material matter, for the material goods of a people and the economy that produces those goods also need protection: we have all experienced the consequences of no longer being able to defend ourselves against the extortion of other peoples after the collapse of 1918, for it was the products of our people's labor, it was the goods that the people themselves could have used only too well, that they were forced to hand over. No one today would claim that they personally suffered no harm as a result – for example, because the previous government apparently had taken the cows and sheep, the locomotives and railway cars, the chemicals and machines, the wood, the gold and foreign currency, and everything else that was delivered as reparations; the replacements were financed by an enormous tax burden that affected everyone and by the reckless printing of paper money that one day became worthless; the inevitable collapse of one company after another resulted in the dismissal of a corresponding number of workers, who no longer received

wages and thus ceased to be buyers; the loss of buyers in turn led to dwindling demand, which in turn led to the collapse of further businesses – unemployment rose steadily and reached up to millions of people, which the National Socialist state found as a terrible legacy of the previous system when it seized power. The German economic catastrophe would never have reached such appalling proportions, and our opponents would never have made such economically insane demands if they had had to reckon with the possibility of German resistance - if a real German armed forces had existed at that time, Germany and the world would have been spared, if not all the misfortune that the economic catastrophe brought with it, then at least a significant part of it.

As it was, however, the inflation associated with the reparations payments and overall mismanagement robbed millions of small savers of the emergency funds that they had saved from their hard-earned wages throughout their working lives; it also robbed other honest German workers of part of their wages for months and years on end, because their wages could no longer keep pace with the decline in the purchasing power of money.

The German economy received its final and most severe blow when France occupied Germany's most valuable production area, the Ruhr, for trivial reasons, because Germany was unable to defend itself against this as well - never before has a nation been shown so convincingly and with such terrible consequences what it means to face a world defenseless, what it means to have the will to work peacefully, to have the ability to do good work, but not to have the means to protect that work; you all remember those times of misery as well as I do.

Apart from the protection afforded by the newly established Wehrmacht, its reconstruction has had major direct and indirect effects - the confidence that the rising German economy inspires is reinforced by the world's conviction that no state will again be able to arbitrarily invade us and disrupt our economy, and that economic relations with other states will be promoted; this also creates the conditions for further work in Germany, and thus for the gradual improvement of the well-being of the community and the individual.

And even more than that: the conscription of the younger generations has created jobs for older members of our community, and the manufacturing of weapons for the new Wehrmacht continues to provide work and bread for large numbers of German compatriots - overall, the German economy, like the economies of all large nations, can once again count on an Wehrmacht and its needs; in this respect too, the German economy is once again becoming more similar to the economies of other nations, and this can only serve the economic recovery of the world.

Many of you are already working directly or indirectly on equipping the new people's Wehrmacht; it is thanks in part to your skill and conscientiousness that this equipment will be good.

I knew that you were all proud of the new people's Wehrmacht! Since this hour, I know it more than ever! *(Stormy applause)*

I know that the old soldiers among you still like to think back on your time in service *(lively agreement)* and that you are happy when your sons are trained to be men in the army *(applause)*, and your boys are proud to be able to march in the ranks of the new Wehrmacht.

(Never-ending applause, enthusiastic shouts)

You are all all the more proud of the new Wehrmacht because you are certain that it will truly be a people's Wehrmacht in the best sense of the word.

(Applause)

The new German Wehrmacht is imbued with the National Socialist spirit, and is free from everything that may have been contrary to the principle that soldiers, in particular, have no special privileges based on money, caste, or dead scholarly knowledge.
(Applause)
The new Wehrmacht no longer has one-year volunteers, and anyone who has what it takes to be a real leader can become a leader in it -
(Loud applause)
it is the Wehrmacht of the German people and for the German people.
(Prolonged thunderous applause)
It will once again protect Germany, its people and their possessions, and not least the places where you find your work.
(Applause)
The German people's Wehrmacht has no imperialist tasks, for it serves the peace of the German people.
(Applause)
I have emphasized often enough that we want peace, and that those in the government who know the misery and wretchedness of war from their own experience and on their own bodies want peace -
(Applause)
I have also emphasized that a powerless, practically unarmed state among highly armed states poses a threat to peace, because it is all too easy for statesmen of other states to divert attention from any internal difficulties in their own countries by staging military incursions into the unarmed state; such an action, however, can—apart from the misfortune for the state concerned—lead to further military entanglements - the resurgence of German power has eliminated this danger to world peace.
(Stormy applause)
Germany is convinced that its armed forces secure its peace—and it is equally convinced that they help to secure the peace of Europe.
(Enthusiastic, sustained applause)
Under the protection of our new Wehrmacht, let us continue to work and create together in faithful fulfillment of our duties, each in the place assigned to him by fate.

Some of our fellow citizens may not realize what a great responsibility many of you bear in your work, what it means, for example, when mistakes occur in the manufacturing of a workpiece that must be machined to a fraction of a millimeter; how the smallest mistake can destroy the work of hundreds of hours of work by other fellow citizens - but what responsibility does a doctor bear when he makes incisions in living flesh during an operation? Many fellow citizens have no idea of the working conditions under which hundreds of thousands of people have to work—what it means, for example, to spend many hours day after day or night after night crouching underground or lying on their backs in the darkness of a shaft, illuminated only by the light of a miserable lamp, in unbearable heat, covered in sweat and coal dust, to perform their daily work for wages that, heaven knows, are not commensurate with all this! But understanding for the lot of the worker is spreading thanks to the work of National Socialist enlightenment and National Socialist education; where perhaps the older generation on both sides have not yet found common ground, we know that at least the coming generation, growing up in the great community of the Hitler Youth, continuing their education in the SA and SS, and then in the ranks of the NSDAP and in the Labor Front, will know only Germans.
(Applause)

Everyone will then reach out to one another with the same impartiality and respect with which only members of the same class or social status once reached out to one another; in the happy awareness that we are creating a better future for our children, let us stand together with shared pride in the Führer who brought us together, who has given our work meaning again, who has symbolically united in his career the manual laborer and the intellectual, the subordinate of yesteryear and the Führer of the entire people of today.
Under his leadership, we will continue our work so that our people and our fatherland can continue to prosper and we can create a homeland for our children and grandchildren, in which they will be better off than many of their fathers, and of which they can be truly proud - we will continue to work under the leadership of the man who has led us so successfully thus far, under the leadership of Germany's foremost soldier and worker: Adolf Hitler!"

(A 'Sieg Heil' to the Führer is followed by minutes of thunderous applause and enthusiasm)

"To Foreigners of Good Faith"

Lecture given at the invitation of the German-Swedish Society on May 14th, 1935 in Stockholm

"Your Royal Highnesses! Your Excellencies! Ladies and gentlemen!
Before beginning my speech, I would like to express my gratitude to those who have made it possible for me to speak here in Sweden before a select audience—especially the gentlemen of the Presidium of the

German-Swedish Association, for they have given me the opportunity to try to foster understanding in a foreign country for the new Germany and for the ideas that it embodies; I believe that this not only serves my country well, but also, if my speech has even a small degree of success in this regard, serves the efforts aimed at promoting understanding between nations.
I was particularly pleased that this invitation came from Sweden, for in Germany, and especially among Germany's war generation, it has not been forgotten to what extent Sweden — led by His Majesty the King and the Swedish government in strict neutrality — treated Germany, which was fighting for its life during the war, with justice; as a representative of today's official Germany, I would like to express my special thanks to Sweden for this—not least to the individuals who led their people in an exemplary manner, such as your eminent researcher Sven Hedin and the generous Elsa Brandström, to whose self-sacrificing efforts tens of thousands of Germans owe their lives. I would also like to commemorate your eminent scholar Rudolf Kjellen, who used the great influence he exerted on the world with his new science for the benefit of Germany by drawing conclusions from his findings - today, Sweden continues to serve the cause of peace in Europe and the world in its neutral way by promoting understanding between nations, as evidenced by the hospitality extended to me for my lecture.

It is undeniable that almost all countries in the world today still lack an understanding of the newly established National Socialist state, an understanding which would be desirable from the German point of view and in the interests of cooperation between nations; this is only too understandable, for in the period before the National Socialists seized power, the world was almost solely dependent on reports about Hitler's movement that were influenced by forces hostile to the National Socialist movement, not to mention former German governments.
Like all phenomena that appear more or less suddenly in history, bringing something fundamentally new and departing from traditional paths, the image of the new movement in Germany and its Führer was distorted by the favor and hatred of the parties. In that time, hatred prevailed – even in Germany.
But contrary to all predictions, this movement came to power, and with a force that ruled out any timely reassessment of the new movement; those who had a decisive influence on reporting hardly understood the new movement, based on their old journalistic and diplomatic training and experience, and, even with the best of intentions, they were therefore sometimes unable to do it justice, if they did not outright refuse to correct the image that had been spread up to that point; this was all the more so because the prevailing hope was that the new revolutionary state would be only temporary - such hopes, of course, were bitterly disappointed.
The National Socialist state has now survived for more than two years, and even its opponents must admit today that it is becoming more established with each passing month - who seriously believes today that National Socialism will disappear again in the foreseeable future? This makes it all the more difficult for other peoples and other states to ignore its emergence, and in the long run, they will have to take a position on it one way or another, just as they once took a position on the French Revolution and the regime it created - just as the French Revolution had an impact simply by its very existence, so the German Revolution cannot fail to have an impact on the rest of the world; it will have an impact solely as an intellectual phenomenon, without its proponents exerting any influence on the internal affairs of other states—for they are expressly prohibited from doing so.
And because the mere existence of these ideas, which are practically decisive in a large state, cannot fail to have an effect on the environment, I believe that those responsible in other countries must have an interest in getting to know these ideas in their proper form; at the same time, they must have an interest in

obtaining an objective picture of the impact of these new ideas in the one state that is governed by them — a picture on the basis of which they will be in a position to take a stand for or against them, and to promote or inhibit the spread of these ideas - altogether, in the long run, they cannot ignore them.
By those responsible in other countries, I mean not only politicians and statesmen, but those responsible in all areas of their peoples' lives, for the impact of the new idea is not limited to politics in Germany, but extends to its culture in the broadest sense of the word: to art and literature, to science and economics, to the country's defense forces as well as its workforce, to society as well as the family - in all its forms, the life of the people is influenced or transformed by National Socialism.

As I now attempt not only to paint a picture of the new Germany for you, but also to show you the ideological and factual foundations on which the new Germany has grown, I must go a little further back in order to make the emergence of the new Germany psychologically understandable to you:
National Socialism has its roots in the war, and it can be understood particularly in terms of its consequences in Germany; it has its roots in the war insofar as the tremendous experiences of the front-line soldiers gave rise to the new ideas that are now an essential component of National Socialism: a spirit of sacrifice, a heroic attitude, and camaraderie without class distinctions.
The signs of decay that were already apparent during the war also prepared the ground for National Socialism; the fact that, while the best of the nation were bleeding to death on the front lines, not only enormous war profits, but even shameless profiteering were being made at home could not fail to have an effect on the healthy sensibilities of the people; it could not fail to have an effect that, while the front-line soldiers were prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice and millions were losing their lives, unscrupulous elements at home were undermining the resistance of the people—undermining it in favor of party interests and class interests.
The subversive work within and the pressure from the outside had to be released in a revolutionary way, since the leadership of the people then did not have the ability to change the conditions within and to counteract the pressure from outside by influencing the people's minds - I do not believe that you abroad could fully appreciate the consequences of the so-called “revolution” of 1918 in Germany, how, in the realm of morality, black was turned into white and white into black—deliberately turned by those who influenced the people after the revolt; how the virtues that sustain the state were mocked—cowardice was labeled courage, courage was labeled stupidity, and heroic sentiment was labeled “reactionary”; how willingness to make sacrifices was ridiculed, and the crassest egoism was presented as a desirable goal for the individual - even the churches were unable to halt the internal decay.
Under the influence of the propaganda of those in power, the German people accepted the signing of almost fatal treaties with a lack of instinct that no one would have thought possible until then; under the same influence, the people also allowed complete disarmament, and some even helped to carry it out - as an excuse, I can only say that this people believed in the sanctity of international promises, that Wilson's Fourteen Points, on the basis of which the people laid down their arms, with their idealistic character, corresponded to the idealism deeply rooted in the German people; the masses of the people could not believe that a sacred promise made by the head of state of one of the most respected countries in the world would later simply be ignored, a promise that had essentially been accepted as the basis for the peace negotiations by Germany's enemies at the time. No one can dispute today that it was ignored, and I need not detain you by proving this point by point.

The German people believed in the Fourteen Points, just as they believed in the promise in the Treaty of Versailles, that, after Germany had disarmed itself, the other states of the world would in turn disarm - you yourselves know how these states actually disarmed.
The huge scandals involving Barmats, Kutisker, Sklarek, and whatever else they were called, were highlights of the economic demoralization of the time, but they were only the tip of the iceberg; the gradually palpable consequences of fulfilling the peace treaty “to the point of bleeding white” - the associated inflation, the individual's instinct for self-preservation awakened by impoverishment and destitution, and the urge to earn money at any price further promoted this demoralization in the economic sphere.
It remains an indisputable fact that Jews held many influential positions in the state and economy of Germany after 1918—some of them Jews who had immigrated only shortly before and were barely proficient in the local language.
I myself was not an anti-Semite until then; on the contrary, based on the usual history lessons, I took the Jews' side against their opponents and persecutors. However, the events of 1918 and later were so striking that I had to convert to anti-Semitism, even though I inwardly resisted having to revise my previous conviction of the innocence of persecuted Jewry.

National Socialist legislation has taken corrective action against foreign infiltration - I say corrective because the fact that Judaism was not ruthlessly exterminated in National Socialist Germany is proven by the fact that today, 33,500 Jews are employed in industry and trade, and 89,800 Jews are employed in trade and transport in Prussia alone—further proven by the fact that, with Jews making up 1 percent of the population of Germany, 17.5 percent of all lawyers are still Jewish and, for example, in Berlin, almost fifty percent of non-Aryans are still licensed to practice medicine; if National Socialism had not put a stop to it at the last moment, this development would have ended economically in a struggle of all against all, culturally in nihilism, politically in anarchy, and, in short, in a state that we all call Bolshevism; this state of affairs was all the more certain to come about as ever larger sections of the German people consciously professed the ideology of Bolshevism and, with Moscow's intellectual and material support, prepared themselves organizationally to bring about a revolution based on the Russian model in order to raise the banner of the Bolshevik world revolution in Germany as well.
Germany was closer to Bolshevism than the rest of the world suspects or is willing to admit; here, too, figures may provide proof of my assertions:
It is not widely known that in Prussia alone, no fewer than 640 police officers fell in the fight against Spartacism and Bolshevism; the number of people who voted for the communist Bolshevik world order in the 1920 elections amounted to 589,000, or 2.1 percent of all German voters - ten years later, in 1930, 4.6 million people, or 13.1 percent of voters, had already declared their support for it. In the July 1932 election, the number had risen again by almost a million to 5.4 million, or 14.3 percent, and in the last election before the National Socialists seized power, more than half a million new voters joined within three months, bringing the total number of communist voters to almost 6 million, or around 17 percent of the electorate.
So many voters had already declared their support for Bolshevism; how much greater would the number have been if the Communist Party of Germany had won!
The above figures are supplemented by the material found in secret cellars and corridors of the Karl Liebknecht House in Berlin after the National Socialists seized power; this was propaganda material of the most outrageous kind, already translated into several languages, so that immediately after the

establishment of the Bolshevik state in Germany, intensive work could be carried out on other European states from Germany - along with leaflets, detailed instructions were found on how to break the resistance in Germany through ruthless terror, burn down anti-Bolshevik villages, and starve out uncooperative cities; witnesses to what was amassed in the Karl Liebknecht House in Berlin for the attack on European culture are department heads of the political police of foreign states, who examined this material and confirmed its dangerousness. And if Germany had become the second country of the world revolution—do you believe that Bolshevism could have been stopped at the German borders?

Almost simultaneously with the collapse of Germany in 1918, attempts to create a counter-movement began; Freikorps and political alliances sprang up in large numbers, mostly recruiting from among the members of the returning frontline army. There was a lot of good will and decent sentiment among them, but little political understanding - in the long run, success could only be achieved by a man who was, of course, also a front-line soldier, but who also possessed extraordinary political talent and, above all, political instinct; who, from his own observations and experiences, knew exactly the psyche of the people whom he believed it was imperative to understand and change in their thinking: the masses of manual laborers. It was primarily with them that the revolution of 1918 had been carried out; it was not against them, but again with them that the transformation to something new and better had to be made possible. Hitler, then an unknown soldier, without capital or a press, made an incredibly bold decision—for anyone who did not know him, a decision that seemed more insane than bold—to create a new, powerful mass movement in which members of all previous classes, social strata and all previous parties would unite in order to one day seize power in Germany and rule the state according to his ideas.
I say again: to anyone who did not know Hitler, this undertaking seemed insane. But I, who had the good fortune to hear Hitler speak in 1920 in front of a few dozen people who formed his following, knew at the end of his speech: this man or no one will save Germany!
This conviction took hold in me, thanks to this man's stirring belief in his mission, in the fire with which he proclaimed this belief, but also thanks to the icy calm with which he drew his conclusions from sober insights and with convincing logic.
His initial reflections culminated in the question: why had Germany come to this? He knew that this people, who suddenly seemed so rotten, were not fundamentally bad at heart; after all, he had gotten to know them during the years of the most difficult struggles on the Western Front; he had seen members of all classes, and not least the German manual laborers, fighting for their nation and laid out in heaps of nameless sacrifices, full of will and with all the boundless idealism that was necessary to survive in the hell of material battles against a world of enemies - if these same people could one day become such seemingly bad sons, there was only one possible explanation: that their upbringing and leadership were deficient or poor; they fell prey to the influence of seducers because there was no counteraction, no enlightenment on the part of real leaders, and because they had lost the instinct that would have prevented them from believing these lies. Often, the German tendency toward idealism was abused - after the horrors of the war, people were only too willing to believe those who promised to bring eternal peace and build a new state of absolute social justice.
Hitler saw how, after the upheaval of 1918, this nation was more divided than ever into classes that were only concerned with their own narrow interests, and how it was also politically divided into a myriad of parties that in turn only represented the interests of classes and economic groups; insofar as these parties were based on a worldview, they were anchored outside Germany, and therefore represented interests other than German ones.

Hitler countered them with a worldview centered on his own people, and he countered the materialism of the time with a new idealism - he countered the egoism of the individual with the demand: the common good comes before self-interest! He countered the egalitarian tendencies of democracy and Marxism with a belief in the creative power of the individual; he countered the tendency of the “Internationale” toward the egalitarianism of peoples with the doctrine of the individuality of peoples, the value of race, and the value of the nation. While the other side sought to eradicate all national characteristics, National Socialism promoted folk customs and folk traditions; it countered the denial of God with the concept of the omnipotence of the doctrine of both peace and a belief in combative virtues.

Adolf Hitler gave the followers of nationalism and socialism, who seemed to be completely separated by the world and appeared to be irreconcilably opposed to each other, a new common platform by creating the concept of “National Socialism.”

He taught that nationalism and socialism are complementary concepts: true nationalism, he said, must demand that every member of the people be healthy in body and mind, so that, if necessary, they are ready and able to defend their nation to the last—this is socialism; true socialism, in turn, must demand that the nation be strong, so that it can protect the life and property of each member of the people—this is practically nationalism.

He taught that every member of the people who performs work that benefits the whole is a useful member of that people; he further taught that manual laborers and intellectual workers complement each other and are dependent on each other, that work in any form deserves to be honored.

He countered the demand for socialization with the increase in production, and thus the quantity of goods available for distribution, by encouraging private initiative; to anchor his ideas and spread them systematically among the people, he created the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

Its structure was already based on the principles that have become the foundation of today's state: foreign racial elements were eliminated; the entire movement was trained to have a ruthless fighting spirit, and the selection of leaders was based on their personal qualities; it became apparent that the principles that were to prevail in the state and lead it to success were correct, for their implementation in the party brought successes to this smaller organization, which was structured similarly to a state.

In his practical work, Hitler used all means suitable for drawing attention to his will and his movement, and hhis most successful tactic was, above all, to defeat the Marxist parties externally with their own means: he used red posters like them; he gave his hall guards red armbands, albeit with the black swastika in a white background; he created a flag that was just the same, with red dominating the design, and he organized mass rallies and mass marches like his opponents on the left. This tactic earned him and his movement the reputation of National Bolshevism - in fact, it was said that National Socialism was basically no different from Russian Bolshevism; the people saw its outward appearances, but not its core. They did not understand that only completely new methods made it possible to reach the incited working class, yet it should have been obvious that the methods of the bourgeois parties were completely ineffective; the working class did not attend their rallies at all, let alone allow themselves to be influenced by the ideas presented there; at best, the influence was negative, as the red press used all such rallies to stir up new agitation against the right wing and against the “reactionaries.”

The National Socialists, on the other hand, filled meeting after meeting, each larger than the last, with the broad masses of the people; in doing so, they slowly familiarized them with ideas that were the extreme opposite of Marxism and Bolshevism, and they gradually convinced the masses of the correctness of these ideas - had this not been the case, National Socialism would not have been able to break down and practically eradicate Marxism and Bolshevism in such a short time after seizing power.

If a large part of the German working class had not already been familiarized with the extreme opposition to Marxist-Bolshevik doctrine through National Socialism during the years of struggle, it would be inconceivable that today this very working class would cheer the undeniably sharply anti-Marxist and anti-Communist speeches of the Führer and his aides; it would be inconceivable that every referendum would represent a new declaration of loyalty to Hitler and his movement, especially among manual laborers.

Like its rhetoric, the actions of National Socialism—as expressed in the laws of the state—are the opposite of Marxism and Bolshevism.
While the initial goal of National Socialism was to seize power, since coming to power its goal has been to realize its ideas and ideals by means of power; its tools are the state and the party.
When the question is raised as to how successful it has been in this endeavor, I can state: the unification of the people across all previously divisive ideologies, classes, estates, parties, and individual states into one Reich has become a reality - National Socialism has created a unified whole, a true national community. All attempts to use this once proverbial disunity to pursue foreign interests, to ignite "la querelle allemande,"[11] are a hopeless endeavor from the outset, and foreign states that had still maintained a special legation in a part of the German Reich until the seizure of power have had to withdraw it as futile.
In the past, the votes of the people were ultimately divided among thirty-six parties and party factions, all of which fought each other from petty and selfish points of view that did not reflect the great common interests of a people struggling for its right to exist - today, the people vote with unprecedented unity for one Führer and one party. With the disappearance of the parties of selfishness, the Führer and the party—which now has only its name in common with the former parties—are showing the people more than ever the great questions of life for the nation, for which it is worth fighting and making sacrifices for; German idealism has been mobilized for Germany.
Our opponents have been deprived of their points of attack for their destructive activities, but only one last point of attack yet remains that has not yet been completely eliminated: these are the confessional opponents. Accordingly, all opponents have come together in the artificially provoked church dispute; we have noticed that it is precisely atheistic communists, godless Marxists who had previously left the church, who are now actively involved in some denominational organization and are trying to stir up the church dispute - they have only one interest: now that all other differences have disappeared, they want to at least exacerbate the differences between the denominations and create a conflict between the state and the various churches. National Socialism wants, as once said under Frederick the Great, "everyone to be saved in his own way"; the National Socialist state gives the churches what belongs to the churches, and the churches must give the state what belongs to the state - but beyond that, the National Socialist state is uninterested in the internal quarrels of the confessions.
No amount of biased false news spread abroad about the church dispute in Germany can dissuade us from this basic principle—news that serves only one purpose: to work against National Socialism abroad, now that so many other lies have lost their effect because the facts spoke against them.

The claim that the National Socialist state is on the verge of collapse can no longer be maintained, even with the best will in the world - on the contrary: with each passing year, the elderly, who could not let go of outdated traditions, are dying, and young people are coming to the fore who are thoroughly imbued

[11] French for "A German quarrel".

with the National Socialist spirit; it is a youth that has been educated in the powerful organization of the Hitler Youth, in whose ranks they learned to value their comrades solely on the basis of their character, regardless of their father's social status, how much money their father has, or what work he does; it is a youth organization in which young people are shown the greatness of their people and the beauty of their homeland, in which they are taught to keep their minds and bodies healthy, and where they are taught to integrate themselves into the whole; they are educated to respect the law and to believe in their nation.
Time is working in favor of the new state; the laws aimed at achieving racial improvement and preventing hereditary diseases in offspring, the measures to promote marriage, and the tax breaks for large families must bear fruit.
Agriculture, the source of national renewal, and from which the urban population receives new, healthy blood, has been secured once again by the National Socialist state; it is secured by hereditary farm legislation, debt relief, and a new market order - today, farming families no longer have to leave the old farm on which they have lived for centuries because it has been auctioned off, as was increasingly the case before the National Socialists came to power.
Through the Labor Service, in which young Germans perform useful work for their people, similar to military service, the honor of work has been outwardly documented.
May 1st, once a day of class agitation, has been transformed by the new state into a day of community for all workers, a “day of national labor.”
The success of the battle for labor has become the success of National Socialism and its Führer - of the six and a half million unemployed, a terrible legacy inherited upon the seizure of power, around four and a half million have been put back to work within the past two years; in addition to the economic significance of this fact, the moral significance for those who were blamelessly dependent on the charity of their working compatriots cannot be overestimated.
It is striking to the leaders of former Germany that today there are no longer any begging vagrants populating the country roads, and that people's faces have regained a contented expression; the joy of work among the working population has increased, and their attachment to the new state has been strengthened by the great work of recreation in leisure time, known as “Strength Through Joy”; it is difficult to estimate the value that has been preserved and newly created for the entire population through the job opportunities that have been opened up in every city and town.
What does the restoration of public and private buildings throughout Germany, which had been almost completely neglected, mean on its own; what does the restoration of roads, the construction of new bridges, the construction of new canals, and the reclamation of new land on the coast and in the moorlands mean; what significance will the mighty Autobahns alone have for centuries to come if it is not done for the people? 1,500 km of Reich Autobahns are currently under construction, another 1,500 km have been approved for construction, and the design work for a further 2,000 km has been completed. Every day, 1 km is newly constructed; the first section, the Frankfurt-Darmstadt line, will be opened to traffic in the next few days, and the Munich line will be opened in June; 93,000 workers are currently employed directly on the construction sites, and 150,000 are indirectly employed in bridge construction companies, quarries, etc.
The stimulating influence of these new ideas is making itself felt in all areas, for example, in the alignment of the law with the healthy sensibilities of the people, as will be expressed in the new criminal code currently being prepared - all good Germans are working for their people today.
Schools and universities, with the corresponding branches of science, are participating in the education of young people and the people in general in the new spirit; a scientist known beyond Germany's borders,

who has used his rich knowledge in the field of geopolitics and his knowledge of world political facts since 1918 to enlighten the German people, and who was also my teacher in these fields, Professor Dr. Karl Haushofer, is with us this evening, to my great delight.

The crowning glory of the whole and, at the same time, the prerequisite for its continued existence is the new people's Wehrmacht; I don't need to tell you that a nation, especially if it is capable, needs protection; the people need protection so that they can go about their work in peace.
For years, Germany believed it could do without this protection, and the result was constant external unrest that disrupted, if not prevented, its work; this was most blatantly evident in the defeat of the Ruhr region, the area with the highest concentration of industry in Germany.
It is an undeniable fact that in international relations, the rights of a people are only secured through its power; a fact that your great compatriot Rudolf Kjellen, among others, has expressed more than once. But Germany has a right to undisturbed work, a right to the protection of its peace; it would be a criminal omission on the part of the German government if it did not secure Germany's rights by creating power - the ideal goal of preserving peace is, for Germany, which is fighting a tremendous battle against unemployment and for the renewal of its life, at the same time a practical necessity.
The Führer is a front-line soldier, and I am also a front-line soldier, and almost all of the Führer's other colleagues are likewise front-line soldiers in the most terrible war of all time: we know what war means, and that is why we love peace; we know that the World War claimed a total of 15 million lives - but we also know that peace is all the more secure when adventurous neighbors cannot feel that invading German territory would be a military walk in the park.
The world knows today that the new Germany has done everything in its power to ensure that any invasion by foreign troops would not be a military walk in the park! Never before has a people been so determined to defend itself to the last man if necessary as the German people are today; the difficult trials of the last decades and the moral education carried out by National Socialism have brought about this determination.
It would be another crime of the National Socialist government if it did not supplement this unconditional will to defend the people with armaments that would not leave them defenseless against the decades of rearmament by other states - according to the “Daily Chronicle” of January 1st, 1914, Lloyd George even said even before the war:

“The German army is not only a condition of life for the German Reich, but also for the independence and life of the German nation, which is surrounded by peoples whose armies are almost all as large as the entire German army.”

How much more true this statement is today!
If you ask where Germany gets the money for its armament, I can reply that most of the necessary materials are found in the country itself, just as there is no shortage of labor; it is merely a question of internal organization to use the materials and labor to procure the necessary weapons, whereby the supplementary raw materials that must be imported from abroad do not play a decisive role in relative terms.
Even if the world does not yet do full justice to Germany today, I am convinced that future historians will conclude that Germany did the right thing! Perhaps these historians will also conclude that Germany's

rearmament prevented a new war in Europe, because it removed the incentive that an unarmed state offers to highly armed neighboring states.
I know that here and there in the world, the idea of waging war against Germany, at least by economic means, is being toyed with, just as the boycott of Germany temporarily pursued by the Jews was already a manifestation of economic warfare; I can also assure you that all such attempts are futile in the long run, just as the boycott ultimately proved ineffective.

Perhaps such tendencies are also part of that force which, by intending evil, brings about good - pressure increases the will to defend oneself, but defense consists of measures to become increasingly independent of non-German production areas—and the country with highly developed technology and the best chemistry in the world will find ways and means to do so! Much has already been achieved, and much more is in preparation.
However, I would like to emphasize that it is not the desire of the German government to completely isolate itself from other countries, for Germany wants relations with other countries, not only in the economic sphere; the exchange of goods brings with it the exchange of other relations that promote mutual understanding, and thus peace. On the other hand, the German government would be acting irresponsibly if it did not take timely precautions against dangerous boycott tendencies by preparing appropriate measures.

In the new Germany, the world has before it a stable state with a government that is aware of its duties; this new state and its government were created by the National Socialist movement and has emerged from this movement.
You may perhaps be of the opinion that the National Socialist movement has thus fulfilled its task and has been completely replaced by the National Socialist state - this opinion is wrong, for the National Socialist movement has become part of the National Socialist Reich, in which it has new and even greater tasks to fulfill than before: deeply rooted in the people, with branches reaching into the smallest towns and maintaining the connection between the people and the government through its organizational structure, it has become a new and better representation of the people than the divided representation of the former parliament parties; the National Socialist Party has become the representative of the entire people and of the great interests of the people as a whole.
It is the necessary complement to the authoritarian government; it is the apparatus through which the government checks the effect of its measures on the people, and through which it receives suggestions and wishes from below, which are then given legal expression.
National Socialism dominates the life of the German people; it enriches it—indeed, it has preserved its life. Germany would have been lost if the one man who created National Socialism had not come along: Adolf Hitler. Was it a coincidence that he came? I don't think so - I believe that providence sends the peoples who do not deserve destruction, who still have a task to fulfill in this world, the man who will save them from destruction at the right time, and such a man, of course, also needs authoritarian power; if it is objected that it is better not to have all power concentrated in one hand, because this carries with it the danger of arbitrariness, I can only reply what I already said to my compatriots before Adolf Hitler was elected Führer and head of state: parliamentary control bodies and the division of power may offer protection against the abuse of power, but the conscience of a moral personality offers far greater protection; I know Adolf Hitler as a person, and therefore know that no one can have a greater sense of responsibility toward his conscience and, by virtue of his conscience, toward his people than he does; I

know that his conscience, his sense of responsibility before his God, before his people, and before the history of this people are the final and highest authority for him.
And it is the people who repeatedly legitimize his right to lead when he addresses them directly from time to time in referendums; these referendums are also a touchstone for him to test the correctness of his actions. He has deprived himself of the convenient option of having his responsibility taken away by irresponsible parliamentary majorities; all his actions are inextricably linked to his name—to his honor. Future historians will recognize what Hitler has done to consolidate not only German, but also European affairs by pursuing a decisive and clear course of German policy and by telling the whole world what is what.
Just as in Germany's domestic policy, he has also applied common sense in a decisive manner in foreign policy - Adolf Hitler has initiated a recovery for Germany through actions based on common sense, and I am convinced that, by applying the same principle in foreign policy, he will also create clearer and healthier conditions that will help bring the world the calm that it so desperately needs; these healthier conditions will be reflected in the fact that the world will finally be convinced that Hitler's government has no intention of heading toward war, as is repeatedly claimed abroad.
As the Führer himself emphasized, Germany does not need to wage war for the sake of its military honor, for it has never lost it; every German politician understands that a new war would not improve the economic and political conditions that are the result of a previous war, but would ultimately lead to chaos. Germany does not want war: Germany wants true peace! It is not war that will remedy the plight from which all peoples suffer, but the realization that cooperation between nations must replace conflict.

May my lecture help to promote these ideas, and may it make a small contribution to understanding between peoples by spreading understanding for the German people at the heart of Europe - if it does this, then the purpose I had in mind with my lecture will have been achieved."

"To the Youth of the World"

Address to delegations of foreign youth and the Hitler Youth at the inauguration of Altena Castle—the first German World Youth Hostel—on May 25th, 1935.

"Youth!

You have gathered here today to attend the inauguration of a hostel that will serve young people from all over the world; in the future, German and foreign youth traveling through this country will be able to rest within the walls of this old castle, and they will also be able to meet and get to know each other here, and, I hope, learn to respect each other - knowledge of each other's characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses provides the basis for mutual understanding, and understanding each other is a prerequisite for communication.

I do not mean, however, that young people should communicate with each other here - I believe that young people who come together in their shared love of hiking, of the nature through which they hike, in their love of songs and of the customs and traditions of their peoples—even if these are songs in foreign languages and the customs and traditions of different peoples—I believe that such young people do not need to "communicate", for the healthier their members are, the freer they feel, and the freer they are with each other, the less they need to communicate; the hiking youth who come together here are, I think, healthy in body and soul, and they feel free because hiking and connection with nature keeps them healthy and free.
No - healthy youth do not need "communication"! Understanding is only necessary where deep differences become apparent to peoples; they do not become apparent when hiking together and enjoying cheerful company in a youth hostel - even during the war, there was an understanding between the soldiers and the individual civilians in the occupied territories — yes, even understanding between soldiers of enemy armies; even today, it is evident that a bridge of understanding is quickly built when individuals from different nations meet, when people face each other.
However, dividing borders and people in large groups bring differences and mutually conflicting interests of nations to the fore; these differences only become major political dangers when they are constantly and tendentiously highlighted in public opinion and when there is a lack of understanding of the living conditions of other peoples - the more the peoples themselves get to know each other, the more they learn to understand each other, and the less successful those interested in dividing the peoples will be.

The foundation for better understanding is laid when young people from different nations, who will later become part of the peoples of their respective nations, come into contact with each other and really get to know each other better! Even if only a small proportion of the world's youth meet here at Altena Castle, they will tell their friends and family at home about what they saw and heard here, and they will consciously or unconsciously influence others at home.
Perhaps one or two of the young people who pass through this youth hostel will later become leaders of their nations; perhaps, as men, in serious times that may threaten peace between nations, they will remember the carefree, happy days they spent together in this hostel with young comrades from other nations; perhaps, thanks to the fact that he learned to understand and respect the nature of these other nations here, he will then be able to prevent a grave misfortune for the countries concerned—indeed, for humanity - perhaps then this little castle will have brought infinite blessings.
The probability of such a twist of fate may be small, and it may or may not come to pass, but we are giving it a chance anyway: it is better to do what can be done on a small scale than to refrain from doing it altogether because it is not possible on a large scale for the time being.

This is only a beginning; may more and more such homes for the wandering youth of many nations follow in time, and may more and more young people from different nations meet in camaraderie! Not in

order to try, in the manner of the Internationale, to balance out national characteristics and create uniform people with uniform cultures, but in order to approach each other in camaraderie as young emissaries of national characteristics, for if the cultural characteristics of nations were to disappear, the world would be poorer in the values that its peoples give to their own cultures, and it would be poorer in the beauty that the diversity of life gives it.
We would not derive as much pleasure from this beautiful castle if there were buildings of the same kind all over the world; this castle is German essence turned to stone, of which we are proud, just as you, my young friends from abroad, are rightly proud of the culture of your country and what it has created of its own - indeed, young people should not come together to mix people and cultures, but rather to better protect and preserve the unique assets of their peoples from culture-destroying catastrophes born of mutual misunderstanding.
Just as we jointly feel respect for the flags that we will raise as a sign of the consecration of this castle, so we jointly feel respect for the peoples they represent; we also know that peoples who are mentally and physically, politically and racially healthy live better together than peoples who have to seek external successes to compensate for internal weaknesses - this is another reason why we want the next generation to grow up healthy, because a healthy sensibility will tell them that enough has been destroyed in Europe, which they are now called upon to rebuild.
If the castle, as a symbol of a healthy youth's home, contributes to the rebuilding of Europe by serving the recovery of the next generation, it will fulfill the task I am entrusting to it here.

Raise the flags!”

“To German Engineers and Technicians”

Speech on German Technology Day, June 6th, 1935, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Technical University of Breslau in the Breslau Centennial Hall.

“Today's ceremony here in the Centennial Hall is being held on German Technology Day under the motto: technology is a service to the people! This ceremony marks the conclusion of the conference, which has brought together German technicians and engineers from party organizations and technical and scientific associations in a spirit of cooperation to exchange experiences; the fact that the Association of German Engineers is holding its seventy-third general meeting at the same time as the Breslau conference shows, considering the relatively young history of technology, how old and how great Germany's contribution to the technical development of the world is; I would also like to congratulate the Association of German Engineers on its seventy-third general meeting and, at the same time, the Technical University of Breslau on its twenty-fifth anniversary.

The development of technology, indeed of science in general, has reached a high degree of specialization; its individual fields encompass such a wealth of knowledge that scientists and practitioners today are forced to become specialists in order to be effective at all, not to mention aiming for peak performance. Today, a single specialist subject requires more knowledge than all the fields of knowledge of the “Universitas”[12] combined; however, this far-reaching specialization carries with it the great danger that the view of the whole will be lost, and that the specialist fields will lose their connection with each other and with the whole - conferences such as this one are intended to counteract such a danger, with individual presentations by specialists providing an overall picture as they mutually enrich the fields of knowledge and are suitable for balancing and compensating for the areas on the edge of knowledge.
I would like to describe such a conference as a synopsis in the field of technology, or rather, a synopsis with a view to the people as a whole; the big picture is one of the essentials of National Socialism, for National Socialism relates all phenomena of life, all events, to its people, weighing up the benefits and harms for them while basing its attitude and practical actions on the insights gained from it.

Today, technology is a means of preserving the life of the people; this is especially true when the space available to the people is limited and cannot easily be increased to accommodate population growth - in our climate and in our homeland in particular, the maximum number of people that the land can feed, even with the most intensive cultivation, will soon be reached, as only technology alone can create a balance, both through the intensification of agricultural land cultivation and through industrial goods production.
Incidentally, I would just like to mention the technical reclamation of usable land on the coast, i.e., the expansion of space without taking space away from neighboring peoples: a hundred years ago, no one would have thought it possible that the population density per square kilometer that we find today in industrial areas could ever be achieved; it is thanks to technological development alone that so many people can actually be fed in such a small space.
And despite this astonishing population density, the standard of living of the individual has risen, and indeed has risen considerably - you are all aware of this, so I need not dwell on the figures to prove my point.
This also refutes the claim so often made by Marxists that technology is the enemy of the working class - certainly, the sudden exploitation of new technical inventions—such as the introduction of the mechanical loom—had temporarily brought misery to the workers affected; in the long run, however, these inventions were also beneficial to the masses, for without the mechanical loom, people with low incomes would not have the clothing they have today - technology has done infinitely more for the practical advancement of

[12] Latin word for “the whole”, usually representing the term for a university.

the working class than all social associations and Marxist parties combined; in the long run, technology is not the enemy, but the friend of mankind.
This does not contradict the fact that the technologization of work, with mechanization—which reaches its extreme in the Taylor system, for example—also has considerable disadvantages for working people - certainly, work has become increasingly monotonous for large sections of the workforce, with the breakdown of work into a myriad of constantly repetitive, identical, often primitive manual tasks reducing the people themselves almost to machines. The reduction in working hours, made possible by increased production through technology, is not in itself a full compensation; however, compensation is provided if care is taken to ensure that the leisure time gained is used appropriately - you all know that National Socialist Germany has successfully endeavored, on a large scale, through the organization “Strength Through Joy”, to organize leisure time in such a way that it compensates for the soul-destroying and health-damaging effects of technological work.
The elimination of technical innovations in the interest of accommodating the unemployed can only be a temporary remedy for exceptional times; further advances in technology must lead to further facilitation of the work process in the long term, and workers freed up by technology must be reintegrated into the production process elsewhere; compensation will eventually be found in a further reduction in working hours.

It was technology that refuted Malthus' theories, according to which the increase in the human population goes hand in hand with impoverishment - thanks to technology, soil cultivation was improved, and such vast areas of the earth were opened up for cultivation that the increase in the earth's population, at least the increase in the population of civilized states, was more than compensated for; otherwise, human reproduction would have had to be restricted, either naturally or artificially, with the natural way being to wipe out people through hunger, epidemics, and even war, which can itself arise from overpopulation.
Technology is an essential means of promoting peace because it gives a growing population the opportunity to live without the need to expand its territory by force at the expense of other peoples - Germany has indeed contributed significantly to the promotion of peace through its technological achievements.
Artificial restriction of population growth consists of limiting the number of children, as we saw before the war in France with the two-child system, which also became widespread in Germany in the years after the war - from the perspective of an individual nation, the artificial restriction of population growth compared to its neighboring states can, under certain circumstances, lead to a disastrous weakening of its defense policy; furthermore, limiting the number of children means a reduction in value for humanity as a whole, for it is a proven fact—which the Führer himself often pointed out in his speeches—that the most significant minds, indeed geniuses, do not only emerge from first and second-born children, but are often the third and fourth, and in one case the eleventh; you would not have been able to hear the wonderful Mass in B minor, indeed even the magnificent works of Johann Sebastian Bach would not have been given to German culture and humanity if the two-child system had been in place at that time.
The great progress made by humanity, the emergence of rising, supreme cultures and their characteristic achievements are primarily due to great individuals; technology has given so many more people opportunities in life than in pre-technological times that the probability of producing personalities who promote culture is correspondingly greater.

Like all areas of life of the German people, German technology has naturally also been affected by the impact of the National Socialist revolution as the great historical process that has transformed our thinking, both in its position towards the people and in its intellectual and organizational life, with the specialist lectures given at this conference alone proving this.

German technology owes its path to the National Socialist mindset and the National Socialist world of ideas to the correct leadership of the men who are at its helm today: they consciously held on to much of what had been handed down from the past, and they allowed existing organizations to remain in place while gradually replacing their leadership with National Socialists, whereby the relevant professional skills were a matter of course. The method of intellectual revolution was deliberately applied rather than that of material revolution; tradition and professional experience on the one hand, and the National Socialist attitude of the leaders on the other, led to an equal recognition of what had been and what was to come.

In technology, too, National Socialism first took hold of the people in order to then conquer associations, etc.; the conquest of German technology for National Socialism is thanks to the personal influence of National Socialist engineers of equal scientific and personal quality - today, it is the proud aspiration of this German technology to produce a National Socialist leadership corps that will one day justify its reputation as the technical officer corps of the German economy, namely, a corps that, through daily cooperation with its fellow citizens who work with their hands, is particularly called upon to practice and exemplify practical National Socialism in everyday life: just as the individual engineer consciously feels himself to be a member of the national community, so German technology wants and must feel itself to be part of the creative whole of the people.

Until the National Socialist seizure of power, German technology, in accordance with the liberal worldview of the time, was essentially isolated from the people and their historical development as a specialized field; its goals were almost purely material in nature, and its scientific thinking was limited to the abstract. This isolation did indeed produce technical achievements of the highest order, but these technical achievements did not in any way prevent Germany's economic decline - the fault lay not with technology, but with the political leadership of the Second Reich, which was unable to harmoniously organize the achievements of the various major areas of work of the German people for the benefit of the entire population; this political leadership was so poor that even the highest achievements of technology were unable to halt the decline. There was no organic goal for the work of the individual or for the major areas of work; technology and the economy had no opportunity to bring their maximum achievements to bear where they would have served the entire population; the relationship between production and demand had become so unbalanced that increased production, which could not be matched by increased sales, only exacerbated the damage.

The reintegration of millions of people into the production process, and thus simultaneously into the ranks of consumers, which was brought about by National Socialism, has given technology the opportunity once again to tackle new problems on a large scale with an eye to the general public—to find new technical solutions; it has once again given technicians the opportunity to tackle the problems in their field of work and strive for maximum performance, because there is now a profitable use for technical achievements, without which they are pointless.

That German engineers and German technology as a whole can once again see a great ideal purpose in their work, and that the work you are all called upon to do has meaning again, you ultimately have National Socialism and its Führer to thank.

I wish German technology, whose representatives are gathered here today, above all new and great tasks, which I am convinced they will be able to solve; I wish them continued success in their work to ease the labor of our manual laborers, to create new jobs in Germany, and to make healthy use of the energies that are given to us; I especially wish that they will maintain and secure Germany's leading position in the technical field in the peaceful competition between nations."

"To the German Farmers"

Closing speech at the Third Reich Farmers' Day in Goslar on November 17th, 1935.

"German farmers!

Yesterday evening, we experienced a celebration that is so rare, and therefore all the more beautiful for German farmers; old and ancient German customs passed before our eyes and ears, dances and songs that are deeply rooted in our people—some of them handed down from a time when its history had hardly yet been written—and customs and traditions in a uniformity of character that can only arise from the uniformity of race, with which is connected a uniformity of feeling and thinking. The select group of German people that were present, from all regions of our Reich, showed a surprising similarity in their appearance—in their racial characteristics; there is no clearer way to make us aware that the best of our people has been preserved through the millennia in the German peasantry.

This peasantry had preserved its character in its folk culture and in its personality; this is reason enough to hate everything that builds its influence on the lack of character of people – on depersonalized people: Judaism and Bolshevism must be the enemies of those who have preserved their race and individuality and who, by their very nature, stand in the way of their teachings.
That is why the struggle of Judaism has always been directed against a deeply hated Germany through its press and Masonic organizations, through Marxism and, since the war, through Bolshevism; it is against Germany in general, and against the peasantry and against the Wehrmacht in particular as the living bearers of typical German virtues.
Before the World War, during the World War, and after the World War, these forces have used all the means at their disposal against Germany; in addition to yesterday's statements by the Reichsführer SS, I would also like to point out the considerable direct and indirect involvement of Jews in the preparation and implementation of the Treaty of Versailles, in particular the role of the large number of Jewish private secretaries to leading personalities:
First and foremost, the attack after the war was directed against the German people's food supply, with the treaty itself having already reduced this supply in purely spatial terms. I would like to emphasize what the Reich Farmers' Leader has already stated: while before the war there were 123 people per square kilometer in Germany, after the war the number rose to over 139, without taking into account the significant loss of the land-rich yet sparsely populated colonies.
I need hardly explain to you the extent to which the economic chaos resulting from Versailles went hand in hand with the destruction of German agriculture – encouraged from above by a policy of laissez-faire and deliberate action - as long as the Weimar system was still in place, the inevitable food shortages could be compensated for as needed—that is, when there was a danger that hunger would turn against the system itself—by borrowing money from abroad; this was an option that was, as is well known, generously exploited, with an equally generous response from international finance.
The complete disruption of the labor market and the failure to reduce the army of unemployed—I do not believe that this failure was merely due to incompetence—led to an ever-increasing restriction of Germany's ability to feed itself, and thus to its ever-growing dependence on foreign countries; the situation developed to such an extent that, one day, the international powers would be able to stop further imports of foodstuffs to Germany by refusing to grant foreign loans, thus exposing Germany to starvation: hunger among masses who have become alienated from the land, who have become rootless, and who have also been prepared mentally and organizationally for Bolshevization, means the outbreak of despair – and that outbreak means Bolshevization.
Most of you are well aware of how frighteningly close we were to the outbreak of Bolshevism before the seizure of power, but the world has not sufficiently recognized this; I would like to point out, however,

that the number of Bolsheviks appearing in elections in Germany—for the communist voters were nothing else—increased from election to election.
Let us call it a twist of fate, or let us call it the will of God, that Adolf Hitler came to power with his counter-organization at the eleventh hour: his ruthless crackdown, the crushing of the Bolshevik organizations in Germany, and the arrest of the Bolshevik leaders thwarted the plans of the masterminds of the world revolution.
But Bolshevism, embodied in Judaism, continued its struggle from outside; that is what the Jewish boycott campaign against German goods meant, because this, too, was intended to destroy the German food supply; the aim was to stifle exports, which were already limited by the general world crisis, to such an extent that food imports to Germany would also decline steadily; it was expected that agriculture, which was already in such a dire state, would not be able to produce enough food in the space restricted by Versailles, that hunger would eventually break out in Germany, and that the Hitler regime would finally be replaced by Bolshevism.
Even though this calculation failed and, despite all the difficulties we encountered, we succeeded in ensuring the nutrition of the German people despite the decline in exports, the resulting reduction in foreign currency for imports, and despite the over-indebted and severely reduced productivity of agriculture that we inherited - despite all this, we were able to ensure the nutrition of the German people—this is primarily thanks to the targeted measures of the National Socialist government and the revived strength of German agriculture.
The battle for production is essentially a defensive battle against Bolshevism, and we can proudly say that this battle in our defensive war against the red tide was also victorious; the fact that difficulties arose in the course of this battle can only surprise and cause concern those who confuse a battle with a parade; anyone who feels compelled to complain that the large-scale organization necessary to carry out the battle has its downsides could just as easily complain that the preparation and execution of a battle on one's own territory in wartime cannot be carried out without damage to that territory.
Those who break new ground for which there are no maps must expect to get lost along the way - but new paths had to be taken.

German farmers! In addition to the honorable task assigned to you, to secure the material basis of life for our people, the care of another precious asset has also been placed in your hands: to preserve the best German blood, which is still so abundant in the farming community; yesterday we saw how you are preserving the high cultural and moral values within it, how you are rediscovering the beauty and nobility of yourselves that had been partly forgotten and buried, how you are bringing new sources to life and showing the people, indeed the farming community itself, what values lie within it.
May the peasantry never forget how close it came to destruction with everything it stands for, and to whom it owes its salvation, along with the salvation of the entire German people: next to the Führer himself, it was all those who stood loyally by him during the long years of an often seemingly hopeless struggle; it was the large number of fighters who are still unknown today; it was brave SA and SS men and political leaders who were often the first to hold up the flag in the reddest areas and did not waver or retreat, even though they often seemed to be fighting a losing battle, until victory was finally theirs.
The struggle continues, albeit with different means; the main bearers of the struggle remain the brave, loyal fighters on the front lines, spread out among the people.
We will have to struggle for a long time to come up with a narrow basis for life in a harsh climate. In this sense, life on our barren Nordic soil will always mean struggle - but from such hardship springs the

combative human being—the Nordic human being. From this hardship also arose the cultural achievements of the Nordic people—the highest cultural achievements rooted in blood and soil.
Let us rejoice in the struggle and the results of this struggle! Let us go into the new struggle with joyful hearts - and let us greet the Führer in this struggle with loyal and ardent hearts!"

"To German Motorists"

Speech to the entire leadership of the NSKK on the occasion of the general roll call of the Berlin Motor Brigade on January 16th, 1936, in the Deutschlandhalle.

“NSKK men! German motorists!
At the beginning of the new year, you have assembled for roll call! You have assembled at the beginning of a year that will surely bring hardship and worry, just like the last one did - but it will also—and this is our well-founded hope—bring new successes.

How fortunate we are that Germany does not have to face the coming year with the conviction that all work and effort will be in vain, that it seems to be going inexorably downhill, further and further until the bitter end, as it did before the seizure of power! Only we ourselves know what everyone who loved their people suffered back then; we cannot therefore blame foreigners for their lack of understanding of what has happened, and what is still happening in our country—when even well-meaning people allow their vision to be clouded by the dust stirred up by the great cleansing operation in Germany, when they allow themselves to be impressed by the cries of those who have felt the broom!
We do not reproach them, but call out to them: if you had gone through what we went through—if you had to watch as Jewish Bolsheviks in your country turned everything that is sacred to you into a sickening red, Bolshevik haze; if you had to watch as your nation was disarmed and abandoned to the mercy of its enemies; if you had to witness how the people's possessions were sold off by international profiteers, how decent citizens were dispossessed by inflation, how hunger spread; if you had stood at the graves of those who committed suicide in despair, at the coffins of those who were killed by communists simply because they loved their country, and this did not suit the Jewish-Bolshevik hacks: you would understand us!
When foreigners claim that individual freedom is curtailed in our country, we can only reply: no one in our country complains about too little freedom except those who want to abuse it. For this is true: the freedom to betray the country with impunity, to deceive the people with impunity, to pit compatriots against compatriots with impunity, to preach murder with impunity, to drive Germany into the arms of Bolshevism with impunity—this freedom has finally come to an end! Perhaps understanding for this “restriction of freedom” will grow after the visual lesson that Bolshevism, which enslaves peoples, has recently given the world in South America.
But if, despite all this, foreign countries do not want to show us understanding, we cannot change that foreign countries may find happiness in their own way, and we take the liberty of finding happiness in our own way!

That our people are happier than before, and that the way they are governed corresponds to the will of the people, has been proven by the great referendums, whose overwhelming results the defenders of so-called democratic freedom would very much like to see forgotten - pure democracy in the world can be only based on a unified will of the people like that of Adolf Hitler's Reich, and no one can claim that the results of the vote were achieved under pressure; we also thank the German Saarlanders for proving to the world a year ago that even under international control, a vote can end with the same result as the other referendums in Germany; this fact has not failed to impress decent people in other nations.
We are delighted to see that understanding between decent people is continuing – much to the chagrin of all those interested in inciting hatred between nations; for example, representatives of the front-line soldiers of England and France have exchanged visits with those of Germany.

We can proudly point out to visitors to our country the tremendous achievements our people have accomplished in three years of National Socialist rule, using its methods! It would never have been

possible in a liberal-democratic or even a Marxist-communist system to restore our people's freedom and independence among the other nations of the world in such a short time—supported by our own strength, supported by our own weapons, and by men capable of wielding those weapons.
Under the previous system, millions would never have found work and bread again; it would have been unthinkable in the past that our people, in addition to the greatest feat of labor in their history—complete rearmament—would accomplish tremendous works of peace: making the Führer's Autobahns, a unique feat in the world, a reality; erecting monumental buildings—giant halls like this Deutschlandhalle that surrounds us—and creating the largest sports field in the world.
Under the previous system, it would never have been possible to achieve such a rise in your own field—the field of motor vehicles—in just a few years: the motorization of Germany on a grand scale, accompanied by the flourishing of industries that had previously been in a state of decline.
In Germany, enormous new factories are being built, which will enable as many of our compatriots as possible to share in their cultural progress, and which will also allow National Socialist work to once again be effective in balancing the material needs of life; further new factories are to make us independent of the blackmailing attempts by the rest of the world to bring us to our knees by blocking the supply of raw materials and to deliver Germany once again to the blessings of outdated systems.

The preparation for these coming things and all the successes achieved so far would not have been possible without the joyful cooperation of the entire people and the subordination of the individual to the higher interests - you, men of the NSKK, have voluntarily joined an organization that has always sought to serve only the greater common interest, and now today serves the whole!
You are motorists who, of your own free will, have submitted to the constraints of this organization, renouncing some personal freedoms; the majority of NSKK members take on this often difficult service alongside their professional work, always ready to give their all when the common interest requires it, such as when providing assistance after major accidents.
In addition to the free time that the NSKK man sacrifices, he makes material sacrifices and wears out his car; he is required to be a role model, to be more willing to make sacrifices, to be more courageous, and to maintain better driving discipline than any other German motorist; he is expected not to elevate himself above others in his attitude, not to demand privileges for himself during road checks and other occasions when he comes into contact with state authorities – in short, he is to be a National Socialist through and through.
As a National Socialist, he should even make a special sacrifice, a sacrifice that only a good motorist can appreciate: I have issued a decree requiring Party members who drive to generally limit their maximum speed in order to save tires and materials until we have an abundance of them again; you can believe me when I say that issuing this decree was not exactly easy for me, because I myself much prefer to drive 120 kilometers per hour rather than 80 to 90! Incidentally, the Führer is setting a good example here, as he does everywhere else - it is certain that reducing the maximum speed by just one percent across the entire German motor vehicle fleet will save millions in foreign currency each year.
It is National Socialist to recognize this and sacrifice a pleasure, for speeds above 100 kilometers are primarily a pleasure and not so much a time saving, as every old driver among you knows and has noticed how little it matters in the total driving time when you drive the car to the extreme!
You should be a knighthood of the highway, but not a band of robber barons! A knighthood that has replaced the horse with the motor, but which should love its gasoline carburetor no less than the rider

loves his oat engine; which has an eye for the beauty of modern technical construction, just as it once had an eye for the beauty of a noble animal - you should be as attuned to it as a good rider is to his horse.
A good driver proves that the machine has not become the master of man, as is often claimed and as it easily appears to be the case with a bad driver, but that the machine is man's obedient servant; it is the friend of man and, mind you, of animals - just think of the suffering of humans and animals who used to have to make their way through frost and snow in winter in a small carriage, exposed to the elements for many hours, and compare that to a motor car that covers the same distance in a few minutes without any living creature having to suffer! No animal welfare association has brought as much blessing to horses as technology has through the invention of the automobile.
You, German motorists, who are united in the corps and in the club and led by National Socialists, manage and care for this technical blessing for Germany; you are jointly responsible for its development and its impact for the benefit of all your fellow citizens.

After me, the corps leader—Party comrade [Adolf] Hühnlein—will outline the special tasks of the NSKK; he will agree with me when I emphasize that the National Socialist Motor Corps, in the comradely community of National Socialist formations, marches joyfully to the place where the Führer has commanded it to go. Likewise, the corps stands in close comradeship with the Wehrmacht; the presence of Colonel General von Blomberg at this assembly expresses the Wehrmacht's attitude toward the NSKK, as it does toward all other branches of the movement - the diverse tasks that motorization poses for German motorists, both in terms of military and transportation, are based on and presupposes camaraderie between the leadership and the individual; we are delighted to see the successes of our joint efforts on this basis.
United in their National Socialist ideology, German motorists face tasks in the coming year which I wish them the strength and energy to accomplish, along with the resulting successes! I know, and this fills us all with pride, that at the end of 1936, National Socialist motorists, together with the entire following of the Führer, will once again be able to report to the Führer: my Führer, we have done our duty!

“To German Students”

Address at the tenth anniversary celebration of the National Socialist Student Union and the consecration of the new Gau student union flags on January 26th, 1936, at the Odeon in Munich.

“My comrades!
Ten-year celebrations of the movement are—like all retrospective celebrations of the movement—melancholic memories, but at the same time beautiful memories, for they are memories of the time of struggle, however difficult that struggle may have been—perhaps they are so beautiful precisely because it was so difficult.
Today's celebration is a particularly beautiful memory for me - it is a memory of the formation of the first nucleus of the “National Socialist Student Union”. It reminds me of the “National Socialist Student Group” that formed at the University of Munich in 1922, and which I had the honor of helping to launch; it was a small group of men who came together with more courage to profess their beliefs than serenity and awareness of their individual desires - the courage to profess one's beliefs remained the essential virtue of the members of the National Socialist Student Union for a long time to come!

For over a decade, many students, even those who were decent and nationally minded, looked down on their fellow students who appeared at German universities wearing the insignia of the NSDAP, or even in brown shirts – and with that provocative armband to boot! Provocative in their red for the nationalists, which was all too reminiscent of the red armbands of times not yet forgotten, and no less provocative for the leftists because of the hated swastika.
Even the lecturers were usually somewhat embarrassed by these newcomers to their lecture halls - in short, the National Socialist students faced a united front at the universities at that time: a front mixed with hatred, contempt and smug tolerance.
This made the small National Socialist groups stick together all the more, to display their opposition all the more consciously, and to serve in the nascent SA with all the more passion; at the beginning, they formed purely SA student formations in Munich, and later, drawing the ultimate conclusion from the National Socialist spirit, they joined the ranks of all the other German people in the SA, the workers, farmers, and members of other professions.
Even more than the imposed opposition that united them—as it did the entire NSDAP and the National Socialist students—it was their shared love for Germany, their pain over Germany's fate, over its division, over the dishonor of its leadership, over the misery of the German people that united them, along with their belief in a new and better Germany that was emerging - last but not least, they were united by the conviction that the one man who they already regarded as their Führer, was on the right path to making the new Germany a reality.

We already knew at that time that the students, who were united in associations with long traditions, were living according to their old traditions with the best of intentions, keeping the motto “For freedom, honor, fatherland!” in mind; however, we also knew that new revolutionary paths had to be taken in order to make freedom, honor, and a dignified fatherland a reality again—paths that the associations, with their outdated forms, were unable to follow us on.
We know that many of these associations were once revolutionary in their origins, that they adhered to revolutionary goals, and that they even played a significant role in achieving new and good things for the people and the fatherland - but just as they once helped to overcome the outdated, so today, having become outdated themselves, they must give way to the new.
We recognize that they were a good school of education for their time, for a people in a nation that was divided into classes and estates; at that time, they operated within the framework of general “estate and class consciousness,” and even some education in class snobbery was in line with the spirit of the times.

After overcoming this era through National Socialism however, the outdated forms of student community life must give way to new ones based on the principles of a new era - in the long run, they will have to give way even if attempts are made to adapt them to the new era, because they are too strongly associated with the past in the minds of the people.
I know that it is difficult for those who have grown up in old ways and cherish fond memories to part with them - but higher than traditions and forms are the ideals that these forms and traditions were meant to uphold.
The old, eternally valid ideals of freedom, honor, fatherland were kept, but they were then lost in the long, difficult years of our history—lost also because of the outdated spirit that prevailed in old associations, which contributed to tearing the people apart internally; the freedom of the nation was regained—the honor of the nation was regained—a truly German fatherland was regained, because a new spirit, opposed to the old one, took hold of the people and was carried into the people by the fighters for this spirit: the fighters of the National Socialist movement.
Had these fighters not come, had they not preached the new faith, had they not been victorious, the forms and traditions of the old associations might perhaps have continued to exist for some time - but "freedom, honor, and fatherland" would have been dead forever; sooner or later, the forms and traditions would also have died, because they cannot live without their content, and because they cannot live if the people who produce them disappear. Even if the new student lifestyles are not yet final, not yet perfect—what does that matter compared to what has been achieved in the spirit of this new era!
In order for something new to come into being, labor pains must be endured - from the imperfect shell will one day emerge the vigorous man.

Just as the old forms were supplanted by new ones, so too have new symbols replaced the old ones: the flag of the student of the new era bears the sign of the new Germany—it bears the sign that has become the symbol of all German people; it thus documents the student's solidarity with his entire people.
What the flag of the new Germany lacks in age or tradition, it gains through the sanctification of the struggle over which it wove in the most difficult years of German history, and through the victory that also restored the old student ideals - in memory of this struggle, I consecrate you, flags!
You too will one day carry an ancient tradition, a great and proud tradition! Generations from now, people will still say of you that you were consecrated only three years after the beginning of the German revolution, consecrated under Adolf Hitler, at a time when he created laws and works that will remain valid for centuries; people will say of you that you stood around the Führer when he spoke to the German students - mindful of all this, you will be greeted with reverence by future generations of German students.
Lead the way for a new student youth!
Lead the way for a student youth that, in deep solidarity with its people, ultimately absorbs all knowledge in order to serve this people—to use knowledge and skill for the greatness of this people!
Lead on a student youth that trains its body and cultivates the masculine virtues of will, courage, and self-sacrifice, so that body and spirit are always ready for the whole!
Fly high, student youth, who—should fate demand it—are worthy of the youth of Langemarck!
Flags, you are dedicated to the man in whom we salute Germany!"

“After the Reoccupation of the Left Bank of the Rhine by German Troops”

Speech on the referendum of March 29th, 1936, delivered on March 21st, 1936 in Stettin and, in modified form, in a number of other German cities.

“My fellow German citizens!
My speaking engagements have taken me to the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Saar in recent days—to the area that was previously the demilitarized zone. It was a kind fate that allowed me to make this journey to beautiful Düsseldorf, to Mannheim, the city of concentrated industry, to the thousand-year-old Trier, where even today the mighty structure of the Porta Nigra bears witness to how far foreigners once took possession of our land; it was a kind fate, not only because of the beauty of the country, but above all because of the people through whom the car carried me to:
On March 7th, the actions of the Führer had lifted a heavy burden from all these people, a burden that had weighed on them for years; they had been more or less convinced that they were living in an “abandoned territory”, in a territory that would remain undefended if our western neighbor should one day decide to march across the border - according to the treaty, no soldier was to be stationed there, no artillery was to be located there, and no fortifications, however primitive, or even trenches were to be built, yet the inhabitants of the demilitarized zone saw new tank turrets springing up across the border, their guns aimed at their peaceful towns and villages.
The people suffered greatly from this situation, not only emotionally but also materially, and, as a result of this feeling of insecurity, many entrepreneurs did not dare to set up new businesses or even get old ones up and running – they preferred to take such plans to the protected area. Even the construction industry remained in decline, as people who wanted to build a house or even just a small settlement preferred to retreat to the safety of their homeland beyond the demilitarized zone and erect their buildings there; as a result, unemployment did not decline at the same rate as in the rest of Germany.
More strikingly than ever before, the internal connection between the protection of a country – its military strength – and the state of its economy was revealed; more and more often, the people asked: have we really been abandoned, given up on; has the Führer forgotten us?
On March 7th, the Führer's voice reached them from the Reichstag, and overnight the soldiers of the young Wehrmacht arrived, bringing with them artillery, light and heavy aircraft, and much more - now the people knew that the Führer had not forgotten them; now they were once again under the protection of Greater Germany—under the protection of Adolf Hitler's Germany!
Only those who witnessed their jubilation can appreciate what a burden was lifted from the souls of the people there—only those who drove through their towns and villages, where the men, women, and children shouted their thanks to the Führer, who was showered with flowers intended for the Führer – this joy can only be measured by those who saw the sparkle in the eyes of the workers in their blue overalls, the farmers at the roadside, the mothers who held out their small children: tell the Führer, we have done our duty for the nation! The boys and girls shouted in his ear: “Greetings to the Führer!” The farmer's wife brought him her finest ham, the small settler his largest cucumber: “For the Führer! - never before have millions of people been so united in their love for a man and in their gratitude to a man.

For every German, the epitome of the new Germany, to which his heart is attached, is Adolf Hitler!
You have not come here to take part in an election rally, but to show your loyalty to the Führer!
What is happening in these weeks is not an election campaign, but the passionate commitment of a nation to what the Führer has given it—the passionate commitment of a nation to its honor!
You have come to demonstrate your solidarity with this man who, like no other German, deserves the honorary title of “Führer”; each of you regards him as “your Führer,” regardless of what class or status you may have belonged to in the past, or what party you may have belonged to - you have all come to

show the world that we are now a united people, united in every hardship and every danger; yes, in adversity and danger, more united than ever!
You have come to somehow "be there" – to be there in the hours of a historical significance for the nation – to be there at an event of such enormous proportions that its magnitude can only be measured by the extent of the fall of yesteryear, the dishonor of yesteryear, the adversity and misery of yesteryear!
Never in its history has our nation sunk so low as in the terrible times after 1918 - but never before has it experienced such an overwhelming rise as it has now!
The people forget too quickly; only when we recall how low we once sank as a people can we fully appreciate the miracle that has taken place among the German people—the miracle that has taken place within the three years of the Führer's government - a miracle has happened in Germany!
How low we had sunk! How unfortunate were the consequences of the collapse of our poor, tormented, starving people at the end of the war - I do not want to go into detail about all the privations: the blackout on the Rhine, the manner of disarmament, the demolition of our fortresses, the destruction of our guns and aircraft, the surrender of the fleet, the foreign commissions in the country, the defenseless abandonment of the demilitarized zone in the west! Not only was it bad that all this happened, but the worst thing was how our people reacted to it, or rather, how they did not react—with what indifference they allowed it all to happen, indeed, how they helped in the destruction of the war material! That there were Germans who took it upon themselves to weld gun barrels, smash rangefinders, set fire to aircraft; that there were even a frightening number of Germans who betrayed hidden military supplies to foreign commissions in exchange for money: that was the terrible thing! That at the same time as the German people were being branded as pariahs of the world, they were celebrating, dancing, and thus giving the impression that they really deserved to be dishonored—because they dishonored themselves—that was the terrible thing! That our returning soldiers were insulted and spat on, that their heroism was ridiculed, that traitors, deserters, and cowards were branded heroes instead—that was what made one despair of our people!
This people seemed irretrievably lost in its strife and quarrels, in its self-destruction, this people of parties and classes, of petty selfish interests, of servility, of dishonor, this people of slaves to the rest of the world!

But three years of Adolf Hitler's government have passed, and before us now stands a free people, a single united whole that knows only one thing: Germany, Germany, and Germany again - we have become a different people!
How insensitive the people of 1918 were to their most primitive rights! Has any people ever accepted the signing of a deadly treaty with greater indifference than the German people accepted the signing of the Treaty of Versailles? Alas, large sections of this people even passionately advocated the signing of this devastating treaty—and not only its signing, but just as passionately its fulfillment.
The majority of Germans simply did not want to believe that this treaty would lead to economic ruin, which is where we ultimately ended up! They simply did not want to believe that it would not be "a few capitalists who would have to pay," as they said, but that ultimately every single person would suffer: every citizen, every worker, every farmer!
Finally, terrible proof was provided for the correctness of this primitive truth! But it was by no means in order to convince the individual comrades of this people where the cause of the hardship lay: namely, in the reckless signing of a treaty and in the fulfillment of this treaty to the point of being bled white; instead, this people took pleasure in blaming each other: farmers blamed workers, workers blamed

farmers, so-called citizens blamed so-called proletarians, employees blamed employers, employers blamed employees—class against class, party against party!
But today, after three years of the Führer's rule, the people finally know where the fault lay, who the guilty parties were; they no longer accuse each other, but have ensured that the true culprits of yesteryear can no longer set them against each other - the so-called leaders of yesteryear are now branded for what they really were: seducers—traitors!
Today, the people know that all classes suffer when another suffers, that farmers fare badly when workers have no income, that workers must go hungry when farmers collapse, that the ruin of the economy cannot be prevented by some fabulous international solidarity; today, the people know that the economy recovers when the nation recovers, that work and bread increase again when the sword stands behind them as protection - the German people have never had such a keen sense of what benefits them and what harms them; never before has their instinct been so alert to the great questions of their lives.
The powers now deliberating in London may try to treat us like the people who signed the Treaty of Versailles—they would only be astonished at the response of the entirely new German people!

How close we once were to Bolshevism—even if the world does not want to admit it!
It was a cleverly orchestrated game! We know today, and the entire nation knows today, that it was deliberately and consciously misled; that it was deliberately and consciously pitted against each other: agriculture was driven to ruin; nothing serious was done to remedy unemployment; the racial consciousness of the people was numbed by paving the way for nigger culture, bringing blacks into dance halls and onto stages; everything that was sacred to the German people was dragged into the red haze in order to deprive them of the source of their strength, to make them rootless, to make them ripe for organized rootlessness, for organized mindlessness: Bolshevism, that Jewish invention for poisoning the world and the peace of the peoples!
And the plan almost succeeded! The masses, robbed of their livelihood, unemployed, starving, mentally prepared, were almost driven into the arms of the lurking enemy of humanity! The communist voters had finally risen to six million, and no one who knew the German people at that time will doubt that the majority of the rest of the population would have joined these six million as followers as soon as communism struck—followers, just as the majority of those who made the 1918 revolt possible were also only followers!
As these six million waited for the hammer and sickle to rise above fire and murder, waited for the gates of the prisons to be opened and the criminals to be released back onto the people, waited for the churches to be reduced to rubble and ashes – fate placed power in the hands of Adolf Hitler! The threatening power of communism in Germany collapsed, and Moscow can be sure: even if it now tries to invade Germany via France, it will never again establish its power in Germany!
In 1933, the gentlemen thought differently - when Adolf Hitler came to power, the general situation of the German people was so hopeless and the economy so devastated that the masterminds of Bolshevism were convinced: Hitler and his National Socialists cannot save anything either; the hopes of the decent part of the population must fail! “Let them come to power,” they said, “they can't possibly succeed!”; “Let them come to power, so that the nightmare will be over all the sooner—all the sooner we can hang them under the sign of the hammer and sickle as deceivers of the people!” The executioners of the Cheka would have raged in Germany to deter other peoples once and for all from following the path of the millions of Germans who professed a new doctrine of national community and antisemitism—who rebelled against the Third Internationale and its Jewish masterminds in the background!

But they were mistaken in their calculations, these gentlemen! Adolf Hitler was successful—more successful than anyone before him!
Had Adolf Hitler not been successful, Germany would today be a Soviet republic; Germany would today be the red core of Europe, ravaged by civil war, abandoned to hunger and despair, and would have become the new base of the world revolution—an even more dangerous base than Moscow.
Critics of National Socialism, however, who feel compelled to nitpick instead of seeing the big picture and waiting until minor flaws are ironed out, must be convinced: in Soviet Germany, which would now be in the place of Hitler's Germany, they would no longer criticize and nitpick—because you don't criticize and nitpick when you've been beheaded and are lying six feet under. In Russia and now in Spain, it has been proven that even robes and cassocks offer no protection from the Bolshevik executioner; to those concerned, we say only this: if Adolf Hitler had not come, you would no longer be standing in your pulpits today, and your houses of worship would be piles of rubble!

The defeat of Bolshevism was achieved—not only externally through force, but also internally through ideas—because the Führer gave the people a new faith: he was able to give them faith because he himself believed in this people; he had not lost faith in the German people, he did not despair in the struggle for this people, because he had lived among them for years; he had lived among them when they faced their great historical trial by fire, when millions of the best of this people demonstrated a willingness to sacrifice, a camaraderie, a strength in enduring suffering, and a courage never before seen; he had gotten to know them in the shelters, in the fire zones of the front lines of the World War - from there he knew that it was precisely those Germans who had the least to live for who were willing to risk their lives—that it was precisely these Germans who were among the best fighters and defenders of their country: the German workers!
When the Führer set out on his great work, he knew that without the help of the German worker, everything would be in vain; he dared to undertake the work, and he found the strength to begin rebuilding because he had brought home from the barrage of the World War his faith in the German worker; during the last few years, the German worker has fulfilled his often difficult daily tasks with loyalty and dedication.
Here and there, there may still be one or two compatriots who cannot fully appreciate the achievements of the worker. To them I say: go to the places where they do their work! Go to an ironworks, go to a chemical factory, look at the people, how the heavy work has left its mark on their faces, how quickly they are aging! Certainly, this work must be done for the nation—but the achievement should also be recognized! Go to a shipyard, to a boiler factory, listen to the nerve-wracking clatter of the pneumatic hammers! Go into the boiler room of a steamship in front of the white heat of the furnace fires! Go down into a coal mine - there you will meet the miner, working without air, without daylight, covered in coal dust, extracting the black treasures of the earth; standing or lying down, he toils day in, day out, month after month, year after year, constantly facing the danger of a terrible death; this is how he brings the coal to the surface so that the wheels of our factories do not stand still, so that our trains run, so that our ships move, and so we have light and warmth in the midst of the northern winter. Go there—and you will have more understanding for the German worker!
The fact that German workers, despite their difficult lot, have found their way back to their nation fills us with a feeling of happiness; there is nothing more beautiful than walking through a neighborhood that was once known as the reddest communist district and seeing how hatred has given way, and one fellow citizen can once again look freely into the eyes of another fellow citizen!

Workers are content with lower wages because they know that the profits made by their employers must not be squandered, but must be used, either directly or through taxation, to provide the means necessary to give other workers, who are suffering the misery of unemployment, work and bread. We know the result of these sacrifices and dedication on all sides: of the seven million unemployed since the seizure of power, four and a half million have been reintegrated into the work process to date - four and a half million who, instead of languishing in the desolation and hopelessness of their former fate, are now employed in Germany to perform tremendous work for the community.

Everywhere in Germany, new life is stirring, dilapidated houses are being repaired, and towns and villages are putting their pride into beautifying themselves; new, formidable buildings are going up; swamps are being turned into fertile land, new soil is growing on the coast, and the weapons for our new Wehrmacht are being produced in such quality and quantity that others may finally give up any desire to break Germany's peace - never before has the German people accomplished such a tremendous collective effort as its rearmament.

The Führer's autobahns have become a reality in a period of time that many at home and even more abroad considered impossible when the grand plan was announced: they smiled at this “fantasy”, but their smiles have faded - the earthworks carried out on the 2,000 kilometers completed or under construction to date alone are far greater than the earthworks on the world's most significant project to date, the Panama Canal; these Autobahns that are not intended to serve only a small circle of wealthy people, but which benefit the whole population, for they will save the economy millions in fuel and tires; these Autobahns will also make it possible to bring many goods to market more cheaply than was previously the case, and even open up markets for many products for the first time; meanwhile, Volkswagen cars will be driving on the Autobahns in the not too distant future.

In Soviet Russia, the principle of communism is realized by the fact that no one owns a car today; in St. Petersburg, only the cars of the commissars and foreigners drive, while National Socialism realizes socialism by enabling the masses to participate in cultural progress—in the field of automobiles, by making them accessible to everyone. You also know that National Socialism has taken the same path in the field of travel and recreation—not in the name of equality, taking this opportunity away from the wealthy, but through the organization “Strength Through Joy”, enabling the less well-off to travel by land and water, to the sea and to the mountains, and showing them the beauty of our fatherland and the world - in fact, five million of our fellow citizens have already enjoyed better vacations than before thanks to this program, and many of them have had a real vacation for the first time ever: of the nineteen million workers in Europe who are entitled to paid vacation, no fewer than twelve million are in Germany, according to the International Labor Conference.

The Führer has restored the German people's diet to a healthy basis by not only saving agriculture from ruin, but also raising it to such an extent that our food imports, for which we had to spend up to four and a half billion Reichsmarks in foreign currency annually before 1933, could be reduced to 0.9 billion Reichsmarks in 1935; foreign currency was then freed up for the purpose of job creation.

We have all witnessed how Adolf Hitler succeeded in bringing about the German revolution - he himself said long ago in the great trial of 1924, which followed the first attempt at liberation in November 1923: “A revolution can only be considered successful if its outcome serves the people!” - I believe that, from this perspective, no revolution has ever been as successful as Adolf Hitler's German Revolution; it was successful thanks to the Führer, but the revolution would never have happened if the Führer had not been supported by an army of old fighters in their loyalty and their willingness to make sacrifices, those who,

just when things seemed to be going badly for the movement, remained more loyal than ever to the Führer and refused to bow down until victory was ours!

I know that foreign trade says it has not yet participated in this general upswing to the same extent; it is not the fault of the Third Reich that the world economy is going through a severe crisis, that trade relations between nations have continued to decline, and that the world's major powers have tried to increasingly restrict trade to their own home countries and colonies; if we are reproached for the fact that there is aversion to National Socialism in some parts of the world, which further restricts trade with Germany, we can only reply: do you believe that if National Socialism had not come to power and Bolshevism had prevailed instead – for only one of the two was possible in the long run – do you believe that foreign trade would then be in better shape? Civil war and the disorganization of the complex economy of our industrial state would soon have ensured that foreign trade would have been ended in the most radical way, namely by no longer producing any goods that could be traded.
The new Reich never intended to make Germany an autarkic economic area, to isolate it from the world—it is others that have forced us to do so; we can only point the way that must be taken to return to international trade, and the Führer has shown the way in broad terms.
The prerequisite for the exchange of values, both intellectual-cultural and material, is mutual trust and world peace; with good will, combined with common sense, the organization of the technology of the exchange of goods will not be so difficult, especially if common sense leads to giving up space that others have in abundance to countries whose food and raw material base is too small - we are a people living in too confined a space, and in the long run, we cannot feed ourselves on our own land alone.
The more we enable those who were previously undernourished to acquire more food, more fat, meat, etc. through job creation, the less each individual will have to consume on average; this explains why, especially in seasons when agricultural production is already declining, temporary shortages occur in one area or another, and there is a tendency for prices to rise; the National Socialist market organization for agricultural products has been able to prevent prices from rising so high in such times that the rich could buy fat in abundance, but the others got nothing at all.
The fact that the amount of food we can produce on our soil is too small cannot be changed much internally; even a doubling or tripling of wages and salaries would not change this, and the only result would be that, due to increased demand, the prices of food and other necessities would automatically double or triple, meaning that individuals would still not be able to buy more than what is available, even with double or triple their wages; doubling or tripling prices as a result of doubling or tripling wages would mean a corresponding devaluation of money, which would mean nothing less than inflation - and I believe, my fellow citizens, that we have had enough of inflation; at that time, it was proven that, unfortunately, the amount of printed paper does not increase the amount of potatoes, fat, or meat.
The most natural way to provide more food for the people of Germany is to expand our basis of life, i.e., to supplement it with colonies - that is why the Führer, in declaring his willingness to return to the League of Nations, has linked this to the expectation that the question of colonies will be examined; the Führer knows that a people without sufficient space, without sufficient food, that a starving people, out of its instinct for self-preservation, must in the long run be a source of unrest against which even the most brilliant statesman is powerless, for hunger is a natural instinct that cannot be controlled by admonitions or commands - our desire for colonies is therefore only a desire to pacify Europe in the long term, and that is why the question of the allocation of colonies to Germany is part of the Führer's grand peace proposal.

Perhaps the response will be: Why don't you restrict your people instead of claiming more space; why, on the contrary, is the new Reich ensuring that the birth rate increases? To this we reply:
Because we do not see why one of the most valuable peoples on earth should perish—a people to whom we owe the greatest cultural achievements and progress of mankind, the most magnificent contributions to world literature, music, and the fine arts! Because we do not see why a people should perish to whom we owe the most significant discoveries and research results, advances in medicine that have saved humanity, and revolutionary inventions in the field of technology; because we do not understand why this particular people should voluntarily face extinction, while other peoples possess eight or ten times as much land without making full use of it, indeed, in some cases without using it at all; because a people that falls below a certain birth rate commits suicide, especially when the population of other states is increasing. The moment will then come when such growing states will in turn use force to take space from their neighbors; in such a case, our people would be then further restricted in their living space and would again be faced with the necessity of reducing their population until they perish completely - the weaker the people are, the less they can prevent the loss of their own space; the strength of a people—the power to defend themselves—depends primarily on the number of people available for defense.
You know that the new Germany has done everything possible to prevent its population from declining, for German women are once again putting their honor on the line to help secure the future of our people - in 1932, 975,581 children were born, and in 1935, 1,265,000 children were born: we are on the way to securing the future of our people.

We are not only securing the future through the number of children, although we do want the sons of our people to protect our country—but we do not want them to become cannon fodder for highly armed opponents who may one day decide to invade our country; that is why we have taken the liberty of bringing our armaments somewhat in line with those of other countries.
We want peace, and no statesman can go further than the Führer in his efforts to secure peace in Europe - again and again, the Führer has reached out his hand to France, and again and again, he has made concrete proposals for genuine pacification; after seizing power, he declared his willingness to limit Germany's army and its armaments to a minimum, to a fraction of its current strength - yet France rejected or ignored everything, and the result of all our efforts to achieve understanding and peace was that France formed an alliance with Soviet Russia against Germany! French politicians can talk as much as they want: this alliance is a threat to Germany! What statesman with a real sense of responsibility for his people could have stood by and watched this happen?
In any case, the Führer has not stood idly by - there is not only the security of France, there is also the security of Germany! Germany has responded to the threat to its security by at least securing protection within its own territory; if France tries by all means to reverse this most primitive act of self-defense, where are we to find any belief in France's peacefulness?
Let the warmongers of the world be warned, if they insist on conflict instead of peace: we will not surrender!
On July 8th, 1934, I addressed the front-line soldiers of all nations that fought in the World War in a speech in Königsberg, and in this speech, I called on them to join forces in the fight against war and for peace, for the front-line soldiers, who know war in all its horror, must be the most passionate fighters for peace; at the same time, however, I warned the world not to misunderstand the desire for peace expressed by the German government—a government represented by front-line soldiers. I addressed France in particular with the following words:

"I want to warn the world not to confuse the Germany of today, the Germany of peace, with the Germany of yesteryear, the Germany of pacifism! For this must be understood: even though we front-line soldiers still have a thousand memories of the horrors of war, even though the young post-war generation wants war as little as we old people do, the path to our country is not open for a stroll."[13]

What was true then is even more true today!
In my speech to the front-line soldiers at the time, I added that we do not believe what the poisoners of international relations would have us believe, namely that any nation wants to disturb the peace of Germany and thus the peace of Europe, if not the world. We did not believe this of the French people in particular - may the French people ensure that our belief is not shaken by their government and parliament, for those who ally themselves with highway robbers should not be surprised if they themselves are not considered peaceful citizens!
We know how Soviet Russia hates Germany, this National Socialist bulwark against Bolshevism, and we also know that the defeat of Germany would be a prerequisite for the spread of world revolution; we also know what the consequences of a European war would be: chaos, the escalation of the global economic crisis to immeasurable proportions—the global economic crisis that is already the consequence of the last World War; we also know that everywhere—not only in Germany—unemployment and hunger among the masses would increase to unimaginable proportions; we also know that Soviet Russia longs for this state of affairs, because on this basis Bolshevism must finally prevail.
Soviet Russia is acting logically when it seeks to bring about a European war by all means - what is incomprehensible to us, however, is that France, which so readily describes itself as the champion of civilization, is doing nothing to prevent Soviet Russia from destroying civilization - or are the French right when they claim that the same forces that once promoted Bolshevism in Germany are now at work behind the scenes in France?
I fear they are right, and I repeat what I said recently: today, on the Rhine, Germany is defending the civilized world against Bolshevism.
But they are trying to thwart us! In an interpretation of the Locarno Treaty that formally differs from our view, they are endeavoring to support the Franco-Soviet Russian attempt to keep the former demilitarized zone open as a gateway to Germany - gentlemen experts! You were not always so keen on ensuring that treaties were adhered to down to the last letter; why did you not pass judgment when the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were simply broken?!
Do these representatives of culture really want to help pave the way for the destruction of culture? To justify their position against Germany, they sing the old song: "Germany threatens the security of Europe!" - we Germans have known this tune for a long time, but we had hoped that this time it would at least be sung in a slightly better variation.
It is touching: dear little Soviet Russia and poor, brave France have acquired the largest armies in the world, and have concluded a pact to attack Germany, and because Germany is not prepared to expose itself to this without further ado, it threatens the security of Europe - that is the opinion of the experts. They sat together in London and drafted a memorandum that elicited comments from the English press that are refreshingly new; we need not go any further in our criticism than an English newspaper that believes this fine product seems to have been invented not by concerned statesmen but by malicious political satirists.

[13] A paraphrase of what was actually said in the speech. - The Translator

And for the sake of peace, let us also take it from the humorous side, as other English newspapers do, when they kindly offer to provide us with an international police force; it is a satire that must be preserved for later historiography that even Italy is to contribute to this international police force - Italy, which was first accused of breaking the treaty by the same League of Nations and “punished” with sanctions; this same country is now supposed to play police on our behalf on behalf of the same League of Nations – “protecting the morality of the peoples” – because we have deployed a few peacekeeping garrisons on our own territory!
We are still taking the matter humorously... But the Führer did not fight for a decade and a half to restore the nation's honor, and the National Socialist movement did not fight for a decade and a half to rebuild a proud Germany, so that the world could treat us in 1936 as it treated Germany in 1919! The world should finally take note: the Germany of Versailles no longer exists! The world should finally take note: today it is faced with the Germany of Adolf Hitler; today it is faced with a Germany that passionately desires peace, but is equally passionate about preserving its honor!
We cannot believe that the peoples inwardly approve of their representatives' efforts to prevent the pacification of the world - the peoples want peace, just as the German people want peace. The German government has taken this into account—may the other governments finally take it into account as well! Europe cannot tolerate any further hesitation.

We know that it was once again the front-line soldiers in various countries who turned against the Soviet Russian-French game of playing with the fire of war; we know that even French front-line soldiers saw through this and condemned the background to the pact between their country and Bolshevism; we know that the head of state of a large country is himself a front-line soldier, who really knows war, and we are convinced that this country is therefore a guarantor of peace. We hope that the forces that are still healthy in all countries will prevail and stand by Germany's side; to stand by Germany's side against the attempts of international troublemakers to hurl the torch of war and world revolution into the heart of our old continent - by standing by Germany's side, they are standing by the side of peace.
Throughout the world, the same forces that once undermined peace within Germany are now working against peace; they are using the same means of lies, slander, and suspicion that they once used within Germany. We are convinced that just as these forces were once defeated in Germany, they will also be defeated in the world; we are convinced that just as peace came to Germany, so too will peace come to the world.
We hope that reason will prevail among others—but we will not rely on it, for we have forgotten how to count on reason alone in the world! We know that outside Germany there are still too many forces at work that have an interest in ensuring that reason does not prevail, for the victory of reason must be their end; thanks to many bitter experiences, we have chosen to do everything we can to ensure that we are not dependent on the reason of the world - we have done everything we can to protect ourselves against unreason! Ultimately, our army and our weapons are the best guarantee of peace.
We are fortunate that each and every one of us, man and woman alike, can cast our vote for the victory of reason - every vote we cast is a vote for peace. The Führer has called on us, we are responding, and world history will one day record: in 1936, sixty-five million German people were the first to vote unanimously for peace!
Every vote we cast should also be the gratitude of every German to the Führer - let it be gratitude that he has made us a united people again; let it be gratitude that he has given us bread again, that he has given us work again, and let it be gratitude that he has given us back our honor. It should be gratitude that he has

created a Germany that we can look upon with pride—a Germany that will once again be a true homeland for our children and our children's children.
We want to thank the Führer that we can stand before our descendants, that we can stand before the judgment of history."

"To German Youth Leaders"

Excerpt from a speech to the leaders and junior leaders of the Hitler Youth and the German Youth at the first Reich Youth Camp of the Hitler Youth in Braunschweig on May 23rd, 1936.

“My young comrades!
All of you, the entire leadership of the Hitler Youth and the Deutsches Jungvolk, have gathered here for the first time. Such meetings contribute primarily to gradually creating ideological unity among the leadership of the Hitler Youth, for it is clear that a young organization must first go through a period of maturation—for what are the few years since the Hitler Youth and the Deutsches Jungvolk have existed compared to the duration of history! Especially in terms of ideas, young people, and especially National Socialist youth, must ferment, and through such joint conferences, joint discussions, and speeches by men who are firmly rooted in the movement, this fermentation process is accelerated; no less important is the mutual acquaintance of the youth leaders, some of whom can only really get to know each other here.

I looked at the individual faces as they marched past earlier in the camp and here as I walked through the ranks, and I was pleased to see that among you, many of whom have been active in the Hitler Youth for years, there are no so-called “Kalkhaufen” (lumps of lime), as would actually be the case if certain theories that have been advocated by individual youth groups and individual youth leaders for some time were correct; I believe that the youth leaders themselves have realized the error of the “Kalkhaufen” theory, because they have not become “Kalkhaufen” over the years.
Those who strive not to become “Kalkhaufen” will not become so; those who were once truly young will remain young, young even as they grow older. We have enough examples of this in history; we know of many great historical figures who remained young until the latest years of their lives, and we have the best example before us in the Führer himself—the Führer, who will soon be fifty years old, and yet is always the youngest among us in spirit and mind.
Whether someone is young really does not depend on the number of years they have lived; it would be a grave mistake and a great disadvantage for the nation to exclude the “young,” who are richer in years, from working for the movement, for the people, and for the nation, for these men combine their youthful nature with the advantage of bringing with them knowledge, experience, and clarity of judgment that life has taught them - that should not be underestimated.
I believe, my young comrades, that when you are much older, you will understand this even better than you do today; I am telling you all this in more detail today because I want to ask you to convey this insight to your young people, so that you do not instill contrary ideas in them—ideas that would one day have to be corrected anyway.

Teach the young people entrusted to you to respect those who are skilled, regardless of their age; teach them to respect personality, for the recognition of creative personality, of personality in general, is, as you know, one of the fundamental tenets of the movement - you know that the Führer has repeatedly emphasized the value of personality in his speeches, and you know that in times of struggle, together with the idea of the value of race and racial purity, the idea of personality was a guiding principle for us, as it still is today.
No other movement has had or has as many personalities as ours - not only personalities who are visible on the stage of the nation's political and historical life, but also National Socialists that are more in the background, such as our comrade-in-arms, party member [Julius] Schreck, whom we had to bury a few days ago: he was one of those personalities who, heaven knows, were ready to fight death and the devil if necessary!
Instill also in your boys a respect for their ancestors, respect for those who came before us, without whom we would not be here and without whom we would not be who we are. Every ancestor has left a legacy

within us - the more we are convinced that we are doing our part in the position we have been placed in, the more we must respect those to whom we owe our ability to lead in difficult times for the nation.

The ideas we spread must be reviewed from time to time in terms of their consequences in reality; they must be reviewed in terms of their effects on our people in their practical living conditions - even ideas and concepts of a purely spiritual nature must be reviewed in this regard.
I am thinking here of a question that has played and continues to play a major role within the Hitler Youth, namely the question of religion:
It would be arrogant and—let's be honest—it would be foolish to argue that nothing else exists outside our earthly sphere of vision; it would also be sad for creation if man, in all his weakness and all his "humanity," were truly the crown of creation; the opinion that only what we can see and somehow comprehend and prove at the moment exists is, after all, the opinion of liberalism—it is a materialistic view.
We counter the materialistic idea with our view that it is not the mechanical, but the spirit that rules the world; we are convinced that there is something above our spirit, something that goes beyond anything that man can comprehend with his limited mind; we call the belief in the existence of a higher power, an omnipotence, religiosity, but religiosity is quite different from dogmatism - on the contrary, the more deeply religious a person thinks, the less he has to do with denominational outward appearances.
True, deep religiosity has great significance, especially in times of need; this religiosity, which is what we mean, plays a decisive role in times of greatest need—for example, when misfortune strikes a person through no fault of their own, when illness befalls them, or even when a people is challenged to fight a final battle, a battle for its very existence.
We all hope that we will be spared from having to sacrifice our best blood and goods in war once again - but unfortunately, that is not entirely in our hands: if we are attacked, if a battle must be fought, then it is very important whether the soldiers who go out into the incredibly difficult conditions of war, whether these soldiers in the barrage, during air raids, when clouds of poisonous gas flow toward them, when tanks roll toward them, when they are in a situation that is hopeless by human standards, whether these soldiers can then cling to something higher, something beyond this world - the fighters on the fronts of the World War know this.

Always be aware that the responsibility you bear in educating the youth of our people is an incredibly heavy and great one: you are to convey the skills of our people to the youth in particular and develop them further in them, and you are involved more than other leaders of the movement in the reshaping of the coming people, both mentally and physically, because you, more than other leaders, have young people before you who are growing into the future, into the people of tomorrow.
You have a difficult task, I know - but you should always be exemplary, and you should always have a more inner attitude than others; at the same time, you have the most beautiful office, for it is the most beautiful thing to work so intensively on our youth, and thus on our future."

"To German Civil Servants"

Speech given on June 4th, 1936, at the large rally of the NSDAP's Central Office for Civil Servants in the Deutschlandhalle in Berlin.

“German civil servants!
The most vivid contact between the people and the state is undoubtedly represented by its civil servants - the citizen, or as he is called today, the Reich citizen, is therefore strongly influenced by the behavior of the civil servant, by the way he appears, in the image he has of the state.
But there are also times when the image of the state is so clear to the citizen that this concept cannot be changed by the behavior of civil servants that does not correspond to this image - applied to today's circumstances: thanks to the widespread permeation of the entire population with National Socialist ideas and views, and the alignment of the state with these ideas and views, the relationship of the people to their state is so firmly established that it is not significantly influenced by civil servants whose actions and views are not National Socialist; the people do not say that the state is bad, but that its officials are bad. If this is generalized—which is all too easy given the widespread tendency to generalize—it damages the reputation of civil servants in general; a distinction is then made between the state and its civil servants, with the civil servants bearing the brunt.

The image that Germans have of civil servants oscillates between two extremes: on the one hand, bad civil servants have given the people an image in which civil servants are equated with bureaucrats: this is the type of civil servant who starts his day in a bad mood and is surly, spreading his bad mood to all those who are forced to work with him and to all those who have to go to him when they want something from the state or its institutions. He feels that the clock, which ticks away the hours of his service, is the hour hand of a martyrdom; he sees the public as his enemy, intent on annoying and tormenting him in particular. Since the years of the Weimar Republic, he has not always enjoyed unconditional trust—reliability was no longer a matter of course; he had lost his reputation among his people, who in turn often treated civil servants who were blameless for this development accordingly.
On the other hand, there is the concept of the so-called Prussian civil servant, as it developed since Frederick William I: the man who, whether in high or low office, feels himself to be a servant and representative of the state, a role model for his community, a person whose backbone is a sense of duty, who performs his duties impeccably to the very end, who feels loyalty to the state as natural as the inflexibility of the law on which the state rests, and with which the state maintains, protects, and shapes the life of the people; this is the civil servant whose purpose in life is not earnings, but service; this is the civil servant who is compensated for the meagerness of his salary by the distinction of being a visibly prominent servant of the state.
Under the influence of National Socialism, the concept of the good civil servant has changed somewhat; it has changed, just as the concept of the state has changed, which is no longer a structure floating high above the clouds, looked up to by the “subordinate,” but an institution that serves the people - to the same extent, the good civil servant is no longer the overly strict, feared superior or “schoolmaster” in the negative sense of the word, but a servant of the people—a servant of the people in its more abstract entirety—not a servant of the individual.
Moreover, the individual member of the people rightly expects that the civil servant, for his part, feels himself to be and appears to him as a member of the people, as a person with understanding for him and his concerns, who is his advisor and helper within his sphere of influence - for example, the police officer is increasingly becoming the helper and supporter of his fellow citizen, to whom this citizen can turn to with confidence, without the police officer losing any of his authority; it is to be hoped that, accordingly, the citizen will feel increasingly connected to him and will assist him if necessary - just as it has long been a matter of course in England for passers-by to take the side of the “bobby,” whereas in Germany, at

least for a long time, a police officer who turned against someone who had committed an offense had the public against him from the outset in the majority of cases.
The demand to feel connected to the people and to act for the people applies not only to lower-level civil servants who come into personal contact with the people, but even more so to higher-level civil servants, who, in all their actions and decisions, should always ask themselves how far it benefits and how far it harms the cause they serve, how far it benefits and how far it harms the people; they must realize that they harm the cause they serve if they are un-National Socialist in their actions—if they violate the principles of National Socialism, not only because National Socialist action is synonymous with acting in the interests of the people, but also because—as I emphasized earlier—this either directly harms the state in the eyes of the people by equating civil servants with the state, or creates a gap between the concept of the state and the concept of civil servants, which damages the authority of civil servants and thus, indirectly, the state itself. Damage to the reputation of the state, in turn, means damage to the reputation of the institution that is supposed to be primarily a servant of the people.

I know that the majority of civil servants who oppose National Socialist views or the party that espouses these views do so not out of malice, but because they are not yet familiar with the basic National Socialist attitude or all the principles of the National Socialist movement - however, just as German civil servants take it for granted that they are required to have a basic attitude appropriate to their office and a knowledge of the relevant legal provisions necessary for their area of responsibility, so too does the German people today require them to have a National Socialist attitude and a knowledge of the nature and workings of the National Socialist German Workers' Party. for this party has become the sole political representative of the people: it determines political developments, and it has transformed the state and continues to influence it in accordance with the will of the Führer, who is himself the chief representative of the people; I know that when I speak to you about the origins of the NSDAP, its structure, and its tasks, there are some old party comrades among you who have long been familiar with all this.
On the other hand, I know that the vast majority of civil servants are not among the old members of the movement and did not previously have the opportunity to deal with National Socialism and its embodiment in the party before it came to power - I do not reproach these civil servants for not being among the old party members; however, we must pay the highest tribute to those civil servants who, despite the protection of the republic, joined the movement because they were convinced that it championed ideals that were their own, and that it strove for a state that was better than the state of internal decay, impoverishment, foreign policy weakness, and dishonor; we know that many of these civil servants suffered for their convictions, and we do not want the sacrifices they made to be forgotten, nor do we want to forget the sacrifices made by the old party members to the movement, and thus to Germany. We do not want to forget how they were always ready to act without receiving the slightest reward, how they were prepared to give up their jobs and professions, how they often went hungry and suffered deprivation, how they risked their health and their lives, even though in the end reports of new victims of terror brought the danger back to their minds almost daily - they should not be forgotten, for they were the soldiers with whom the Führer achieved victory!
Their great historical achievement, party comrades and German civil servants, is called the fulfillment of duty - this fulfillment of duty, I believe, is made easy for German civil servants by the new, firmly established state, and I also believe that all German civil servants have reason to be grateful to the National Socialist movement, which, after the revolution and the takeover of power in Germany, is striving to create a new type of civil servant, for it has done its part and continues to do so: to improve the

reputation of German civil servants among the people, which had been damaged in the past, and to consolidate this improved reputation; on the other hand, it is doing its part to show the people how vital a good civil service is for a nation and what right this civil service has, when it does its duty, to be honored and respected.
The reconstruction of Germany has undoubtedly been made easier by the fact that, during the years of decline, a certain number of decent, good civil servants were preserved who upheld the tradition of the former German civil service, and during the short period of the National Socialist revolution, they were joined by a large number of civil servants who performed their duties with dedication; their achievements and their contribution to the construction and development of the new Germany should be gratefully acknowledged.
In rallies such as today's, German civil servants should express their pride in their achievements and in their civil service, while at the same time pledging before the people to serve them and work for them, as National Socialism demands; the professional civil service, which upheld its traditional values, has always found recognition from the National Socialist movement, even during the struggle – their recognition as an essential pillar of the true state.

My German civil servants, I am well aware that today, more than ever before, individuals are required to show a higher degree of dedication to their work, a willingness to make sacrifices for the nation, knowledge of legislation, and—last but not least—psychological skills; yet, beyond that, it must also be demanded that civil servants, who are of course only accountable to their superiors in their official capacity, maintain constant contact with the relevant party offices, especially if they are in a position of leadership, so that a spirit of trust and cooperation between, for example, heads of authorities and political leaders can be fostered in all matters of political importance, presenting a united front to the people.
The political leaders of the party appointed by the authorities are called upon to be the living link between the party and the state; they also have the special task of awakening and nurturing a genuine National Socialist community spirit among civil servants and all non-civil servants who work with the authorities. They should also do their part to ensure that civil servants of different categories increasingly come to see themselves as members of a working community in which the spirit of camaraderie overcomes divisions based on professional status; they should serve as role models for the principle that a good civil servant is one who is helpful to the ordinary man and acts as a true servant of the people.
As you know, the party is consulted on all appointments and promotions of civil servants, insofar as these are made by the Führer, in order to give its opinion on the civil servants concerned. Their approval is necessary for the corresponding proposal to the Führer; this is intended to increase the certainty that only civil servants who are impeccable in the National Socialist sense will be appointed and promoted. This involvement of the party does not primarily serve the good civil servant himself, but is intended to prevent the assessment of the civil servant at the top from depending solely on the judgment of his superiors within the chain of command — superiors, some of whom may still be secretly opposed to National Socialism and thus, perhaps for objective reasons, but in fact for ideological reasons, seek to hinder the advancement of National Socialist-minded civil servants, while promoting non-National Socialist civil servants who are closer to them in their views.
The National Socialist civil service organization, as well as the National Socialist local groups within which the civil servants live, are in a position to contribute to the assessment of civil servants completely independently of the civil service – and, if necessary, to exert a balancing influence - indeed, the mere

knowledge of this independence means that assessments may often prevent a tendency toward biased reports to government agencies.
The reporting bodies within the NSDAP are required to exercise the utmost fairness and caution in making their judgments; in addition, I personally have the final say on whether or not to object to an appointment - you can be assured that I am not guided by petty considerations.
The Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service has eliminated real pests - in the case of civil servants currently in service, it is not so much a question of what one or another civil servant may have said in the past, but rather how he behaves today and what he achieves, with the decisive factor being whether they loyally fulfill their duty to the new state, whether they strive to be National Socialists in their behavior, and whether or not they promote the necessary unity of party and state in accordance with the will of the Führer through their actions.
Here and there, there may be a civil servant who cannot forget, who would prefer to see a Germany ruled by a democracy or a monarchy, even at the price of this Germany being a Germany of misery and weakness - however, you can be sure that if anyone is still quietly working against the new state in this or that position, they are like someone trying to stop a fast-flowing stream, for sooner or later, the stream will sweep him away or destroy him.

My party comrades! German civil servants! If, in the long run, the National Socialist state naturally tolerates only National Socialist civil servants, it does so not out of narrow-minded party considerations, which the NSDAP is as little familiar with as it is a party in the usual sense; the demand for National Socialist civil servants is made in the interest of preserving Germany, which is only possible through National Socialism and will only be possible in the future under National Socialism. It is in the interest of every individual civil servant to demand a purely National Socialist civil service, for only a civil service that is completely unified and based on the same ideology can be a strong pillar of the state, on which the existence of the state essentially depends; however, the existence of the state is the prerequisite for the existence of civil servants - the stronger the state, the greater its prestige, and greater also is the prestige of its civil servants.
The German state can only be strong as a National Socialist state, for Germany can only be National Socialist or Bolshevik - National Socialism could only be replaced by Bolshevism. For Germany, being Bolshevik means not to be German in the long run - but Germany should be German, and Germany should live—and Germany will live!

Party comrades! German civil servants! Whether you are postal or police officers, municipal officials or railway officials, tax officials, judicial officials or administrative officials, you come into contact with individual German citizens in some way, and your work is important to them. Be aware of this: you witness people's fates, and you bring decisions of sometimes far-reaching significance into families; you can uplift your fellow citizens with your advice, but you can also torment them if you do not do your duty in the National Socialist spirit.
It is not important what office the official administers, whether it is large or small, whether he is a minister or a lower-ranking official - according to a National Socialist principle, it is not important what he does, but how he does it: the official has his instructions for his service, but how he carries it out, how he fills it with life, how he adapts it to the life of his people, that is up to him! This is where it is decided whether a civil servant is good or bad in the higher sense, whether he is truly a National Socialist at heart

or, at best, only in name; this is where it is decided whether he is a worthy servant of the new state, a worthy servant of his people.
Millions of people in the new Germany are unconsciously working on their own dignity by doing work for the good of the whole, by doing their duty in fulfillment of new ethical ideas; I know that the German civil servant does not want to and will not stand back, for he is also doing his part to build our Germany, a Germany of exemplary order and supreme justice, which will provide all its people with sufficient work and bread, which will give them a share in its prosperity - a Germany of true beauty and true dignity.
We will all build together under the firm, determined leadership of the first official of the Reich: Adolf Hitler."

"For the Launch of the Training Ship 'Horst Wessel'"

Speech given at the launch ceremony on June 13th, 1936, in Hamburg.

"This ship is to bear the name of the poet and fighter on the front lines of the German revolution:

“Horst Wessel”

— just as its sister ship bears the name of the poet and fighter on the front lines of the war at sea, “Gorch Fock”; the two training ships of our navy thus bear the names of fighters and poets who shared the same idea — of men who gave their lives for this idea: an idea called “Germany.”

It is the idea of Germany that millions saw in the struggle for Germany in the Great War; the Germany that stood before their minds' eyes as the Germany of the future; the Germany born of the experience of common struggle, common suffering, and common death of the German people; the Germany for which it was worth giving one's life.
Their hope was that the devotion of individual lives would give rise to the life of a German community worthy of their sacrifice; their belief was in a Germany carried by the spirit of the front, a National Socialist Germany, before they even knew the word “National Socialism.”
The front-line soldiers carried the idea of this Germany with them back home, and the front-line soldier Adolf Hitler elevated the idea of this Germany to the idea of the homeland—to the idea of the German people—in fulfillment of the legacy of the front; from the idea of this Germany, Adolf Hitler created the proud reality of the Third Reich - if Adolf Hitler had not come along, the idea of the front-line soldiers would have died with them.

In Adolf Hitler's struggle to elevate this idea to the idea of Germany, in the struggle for the creation of the Third Reich, Horst Wessel gave his life in the service of the Führer and his idea, for Horst Wessel exemplified National Socialism - in order to spread the belief in National Socialism among manual laborers, the student Horst Wessel became the manual laborer Horst Wessel—he united within himself the worker of the brow with the worker of the fist; he united within himself the nationalist of the idea with the socialist of action.
In order to give those whose lives were full of deprivation a belief in National Socialism, he renounced a bourgeois life and chose to live among manual laborers—among the unemployed; in order to prove his willingness to give his life for the idea, he held the flag high at the head of his storm troopers in Berlin's communist district, even though he knew that the “Red Front” had decided on his death.
Because Horst Wessel was one of the most successful fighters of National Socialism, he had to die - but the dead Horst Wessel only multiplied his powers, for when Horst Wessel, the bearer of the National Socialist revolution, was shot dead, he became the symbolic figure of the German revolution – he became the relentless admonisher of the German revolutionaries.
When Horst Wessel's lips fell silent, his song became the song of the German revolution – it became the song of the Germany that gave birth to the revolution - when Horst Wessel died, “Horst Wessel” became immortal.

Carry, O ship, this immortal name across the seas—carry it under the flag under which Horst Wessel fought and fell. Always carry with you the spirit of Horst Wessel: pass on the spirit of Horst Wessel to the boys who are being raised to become men like you; pass on to them the spirit of the front; pass on to them the spirit that is both the highest nationalism and truest socialism: the spirit of simple service to the whole; pass on to them the spirit of camaraderie, free from old notions of class and status, the spirit of standing

together, of commitment to one another, the spirit that accepts hardship for the sake of an idea, the spirit that puts being above appearance—the spirit of a devotion of life for Germany.
Instill in them the spirit that holds the flag high until the last breath—even if the ship sinks!
Instill in them Horst Wessel's love - instill in them Horst Wessel's loyalty to the Führer."

"To Suppliers and Consumers"

Rudolf Hess gives a speech in a small town in southern Germany

Speech given on October 11th, 1936, at the inauguration of the Adolf Hitler Hall in Hof.

“My fellow German citizens!
When your district leader and mayor came to see me during my vacation in the Fichtelgebirge mountains to explain that it was absolutely necessary for me to come to Hof for the inauguration of the Adolf Hitler Hall and give a speech, I initially avoided giving an answer; once they had left however, I cursed in a most unministerial manner! I wanted to have my peace and quiet during my vacation and not see any mass gatherings—let alone speak at one! But once my initial anger had subsided, I thought about what it actually meant that such a huge hall had been built in Hof, which is not an overly large town.
What is certain, in any case, is that countless cities in which such halls have been built in recent times could never have imagined filling such spaces frequently in the past, making its construction not even remotely worthwhile; the small halls were perfectly adequate for the meetings of any craft guilds or for the “massive rallies” of one of the thirty existing parties. Even those who attracted the largest crowds, the so-called “representatives” of the working class, were divided among so many parties and unions - when one group called, the others stayed away.
Most of the time, people were even glad that there was no really large hall available in which they had to hold their meeting for the sake of propriety; at least the embarrassment after a huge rally by, say, the “German People's Party” would not be too obvious, and the newspapers did not have to lie through their teeth in order to report on a “crowded mass meeting.”
But now, huge assembly halls have sprung up everywhere in Germany, offering space for thousands upon thousands - and when the call goes out today, even these halls are still too small!
In today's Germany, it is no longer tailors' associations, red, yellow, and other trade unions, right-wing, left-wing, or centrist parties that are called upon, but rather the German people! And because the inauguration of such a new hall is symbolic of our new Germany, that is why I have come here today.
I was particularly happy to come to Hof because I know that Hof has always been far ahead in the development of National Socialism, even in the most difficult times of the struggle! I remember how the Führer and all of us around him so often waited with particular excitement for the election results from Hof, and each time we were not disappointed; we were able to proudly present Hof, once notorious as a

red stronghold, to the world as a National Socialist stronghold time and again - I know that Hof still honors its old National Socialist tradition on all occasions.

I am aware that this city and this entire region still lags behind many other areas in Germany in economic terms; it is not overly blessed with goods that the soil produces, and a large part of the industries here are export industries - above all, however, it is a border region where many businesses that have sprung up elsewhere cannot be located.
I know that, as a result, wages and incomes here are in many cases still below those in the rest of the Reich; however, I also know that it is precisely those members of the people whose lives are difficult who are among the best and most loyal to the Führer - they stand by him in the certainty that he is doing for them what only a human being can do; they know that from morning till night he thinks and works for all those who are working in Germany itself; they know that miracles have already been accomplished in all areas that no one would have thought possible three years ago. They are convinced, as we all are, that things must and will continue to improve - and they will not be disappointed in this conviction!

How tremendous are the achievements of the new Reich in the economic sphere alone!
What did it mean in January 1933 to take over a state that was on the verge of collapse, an economy that should have declared bankruptcy long ago, and then, within a very short period of time, to bring about recovery by means of this state, by means of this economy, to put millions back to work, to build up a modern armed forces, and at the same time, with these enormous efforts, to secure bread for our people!
This securing of food for the German people had to be achieved by increasing domestic food production, and what is still lacking must be imported; however, it is not only food that must be imported, but also, as you know, a large number of raw materials that are necessary to keep our industry running, to secure the jobs of millions, and to complete our rearmament.
We can only import goods in exchange for goods that we produce ourselves, and the prerequisite for this exchange of goods is, again, that foreign countries are also willing to buy these goods from us. But this is where the great difficulty has arisen in recent years: our export opportunities to the rest of the world have declined more and more, partly because many countries that used to buy goods now produce them themselves, and partly because the world economy has been so successfully disrupted that production and prices are now based on very divergent foundations, and high tariff barriers have been erected to the point that the exchange of goods has come to a standstill.
We could certainly sell many more goods than we do at present! It would be easy to sell them with the help of currency experiments – and at the same time throw out our national wealth; we would only need to lower the value of our mark so that foreign mark holders could use it to sell off Germany again - that would be a fine export! It would be tantamount to unscrupulously giving away national capital, and with that comes the renewed impoverishment of our people through inflation. Does anyone believe that we cannot afford such experiments in terms of power? We could sell goods at such a price, but we do not want to cheat our savers or fleece our younger generation by recklessly squandering the national wealth that we are responsible for managing on their behalf.

We do not want experiments or deception; we want trade in goods that is conducted honestly, on a solid basis, and in accordance with good commercial practices.

To do this, we naturally and obviously need sales markets; however, we can no longer recapture the sales markets we lost during the war, because other countries now own them and will not give them up - therefore, our exports are currently not sufficient to import everything we need.
We know that, on top of that, in recent years, Jews all over the world have been working to further restrict our exports through boycotts and the like; for a while, they had partial success with the help of their racial comrades in the commercial centers of the liberal countries. But today, their efforts are already in vain: the attempt to force a large, hard-working people to surrender by starving them has failed! And let the gentlemen out there be warned: all further attempts will also fail! You will not subjugate us! Adolf Hitler's people know what is at stake; they are willing to make some sacrifices if necessary, but they will not capitulate!
Let no one believe that if the economic struggle against our people fails, Germany could be overwhelmed by armed forces, perhaps by the march of Soviet Russian militarism - for we have made provisions! And we are prepared, if necessary, to continue to consume a little less fat, a little less pork, a few fewer eggs, because we know that this small sacrifice is a sacrifice on the altar of our people's freedom.
We know that the foreign currency we save in this way will benefit rearmament; even today, the slogan "guns instead of butter" still applies, i.e., more guns instead of more butter, because otherwise one day the last of our butter will be taken from us.
The Führer is not one of those who do things by halves - since a world armed to the teeth has forced us to rearm, we are rearming to the full! Every additional gun, every additional tank, every additional aircraft means greater security for German mothers, ensuring that their children will not be murdered in an ill-fated war – or tortured by Bolshevik gangs: we will ensure that the desire to attack us disappears once and for all!

We also know one more thing: food consumption has not decreased during the Führer's reign, but has increased significantly; we must be proud that this consumption has increased, that the German people's demand for food has risen, since this means that the German people, and especially German workers as a whole, can once again buy more food, some of which is better quality and which they previously had to go without.
Millions upon millions of people are now able to buy more food for themselves and their families than before, and they are even able to buy food that they could not afford in the past - a total of approximately six and a half million people can now say that, under Adolf Hitler, they have not only found work, but that on average they can spend about eighty-five marks more per month than before the seizure of power, i.e., when they were unemployed and receiving benefits; if six and a half million people spend eighty-five marks more per month, this increases demand on the general economic market by over five hundred and fifty million marks per month, or over six and a half billion marks per year!
Experience suggests that over three billion of these marks will be spent on food, for the once malnourished unemployed and their families have a need for a little more meat, more fat, etc., a need that they can now satisfy after long years of deprivation - imagine what it means when, for the unprecedented sum of three billion, i.e., three thousand million marks, more food is demanded during a year than before! Is it any wonder then that there are occasional minor difficulties in the food market? I know that our people are happy to consume a little less fat, meat, or the like from time to time, knowing that millions of their fellow citizens are now better nourished than they were when they were unemployed; we can proudly say that a little bit less butter for the individual is proof of the success of the labor battle for the whole - the sacrifice of the individual means a gain for millions!

There is a very simple and effective way for us to remedy the occasional shortage of meat, eggs, butter, etc.: we would only need only allow unemployment to rise again to seven million; you can be sure that then there would not be a single day of the year when even a few people would be standing in line anywhere—except at the welfare offices. But this result would not come about because there would be more goods on the market, but because these seven million people would once again have no money to buy butter, eggs, meat, or milk at all - who would seriously want that; would anyone want to live better at the expense of the impoverishment of others? On the contrary, I know that each of us is proud to make sacrifices for Germany, for our fellow citizens, and for the nation.

It is an old economic principle that when there is less of a commodity available than is needed, people are willing to pay more to obtain the desired quantity; it is only natural that the price of this commodity then rises.
Thanks to the organization of the Reich Food Administration, created by National Socialism, it has been possible to prevent the rise in prices of a large number of foodstuffs that constitute the diet of the masses of our people, even in times when they are particularly scarce - if prices had been left to fluctuate freely, for example, in times of butter scarcity, the price of butter would have risen to such an extent that only the wealthy could afford to buy butter, in any quantity they desired, while the rest of the population would have gone without because they simply could not afford butter at such prices; the Reich Food Administration keeps the majority of food prices within fixed limits and ensures that even during a temporary shortage, fair distribution is possible, or if a severe shortage occurs elsewhere in the meantime, compensation is soon made.
We know that the prices of some other foods have actually risen slightly as a result of their scarcity; if their prices had been kept rigidly at the old level, there would have been a danger that they would have appeared even less on the market than before, because the people who produce them and distribute them in trade are only human, and at that moment they would no longer deal with them, since the effort and expense involved are greater than the price they receive for them - if one wanted to force farmers, traders, merchants, etc. to produce and distribute a certain commodity under constantly unfavorable price conditions, one would have to switch to a system of coercion based on the Soviet Russian model, and the terrible failure of this system in Soviet Russia has not gone unnoticed by the world. Let us also not forget that if some products were not better paid for, our agriculture would have collapsed, for the prices we found for some agricultural products were prices that Marxism had created to destroy the peasantry, to proletarianize and Bolshevize it.
We would have been bad socialists if we had betrayed the farmers for the sake of our popularity with the workers - in doing so, we would ultimately have harmed the whole, and thus the workers themselves by exposing them to destruction.
It goes without saying that it is necessary for food prices, which have been stable up to now, to remain stable in the future; National Socialism will take draconian measures, if necessary, against any price increases that represent an exploitation of a temporary emergency; National Socialism will not only ensure that the constant average demand can be met at a constant average price, but it will also ensure that the prices of foodstuffs that have risen slightly over time do not continue to rise - anyone who believes they can engage in usury with the necessities of life at the expense of the community will get to know National Socialism!

But no measures, such as rationing systems, price increases, or wage increases, can change the fact that we do not yet have some foodstuffs in the quantities we need - how happy we would be if wage increases could solve the problem of improving the living conditions of the broad masses of our people!
The path of wage increases would be as easy for the National Socialist government as it would be unscrupulous, for it would not change the situation of the individual in the long run: all wage increases could not change the fact that we have too little of some everyday necessities or cannot produce enough of them. You cannot consume the wage itself, but only what you can buy with that wage: you can only buy what is available; it has already been made abundantly clear to us that the highest wages without a corresponding increase in production, without an increase in what can be bought with these wages, do not mean an increase in the actual wage, i.e., the real wage.
There was a time when every German worker earned hundreds of thousands of marks an hour, becoming a multi-millionaire, even a billionaire, with every wage payment; but no one can claim that they were able to buy more with their millions and billions than before when they only took home a few marks a week - on the contrary, they gradually got less because, as a result of the disrupted currency and the impossibility of calculating production costs in advance, one business after another cut back or closed down completely, so that production, and thus what could be sold, declined more and more.
To raise wages would be unconscionable because it would give wage earners false hope that we know cannot be fulfilled; it would also be unconscionable because, in addition, the result would be serious damage to the community as a whole, indeed a crime against the community as a whole, for an increase in wages without a corresponding increase in production would sooner or later lead to new inflation. According to the already mentioned law of supply and demand, the prices of goods rise when more wages and salaries are seeking to buy goods, while the goods have not increased or have even decreased; in line with the increased prices, wage and salary earners would demand an increase in their incomes, and the entertaining game of alternating and mutual driving up of incomes and prices, which we know all too well from the past, would ensue - this is a completely futile and pointless game because, as I said, you cannot buy more than is available, regardless of whether you ultimately pay fifty pfennigs, a thousand marks, or a million marks for the egg! I believe that no one in Germany would want to relive the experience of inflation through a second bout of inflation.
We can currently observe the race between wages and prices in France: there, too, forced wage increases are not bringing about any improvement, because production is not only remaining the same, but is even declining as a result of continued strikes, factory occupations, etc; the end result will only be damage to the whole and to each individual, and no monetary experiments—no matter how extensive the devaluation—will change this - on the contrary, devaluation without an increase in production can already signal the beginning of inflation in numerical terms.
It is astonishing how little individual nations seem inclined to learn from the bitter experiences of other nations. But we have learned from our own experiences: our people will not go through the agony of inflation again!

The Führer has already shown us the paths that must be taken to overcome the occasional difficulties: Firstly, the world must give us the opportunity to extract raw materials that we previously had to buy in our own territories, i.e., it provides us with raw material colonies; this transfer of colonies is in their own interest because otherwise we might be forced to export at any price, thereby damaging the other exporting countries.

Secondly, we must proceed with the production of the necessary raw materials in our own country, as far as this is possible; you know that when German chemists and German technicians tackle something, the result is not bad! Factories are under construction that will soon make us less dependent on fuel imports from abroad; factories are under construction that will produce artificial rubber of at least the same quality as natural rubber, and other factories are being built or converted. Millions in foreign currency, which we previously had to use to procure raw materials, will be saved in the course of fulfilling the Four-Year Plan and used to procure larger quantities of raw materials that we cannot produce ourselves, to purchase the foodstuffs that we lack domestically - the slogan is this: provide more raw materials to enable increased production!

Foreign countries can rest assured about one thing: we will not use raw materials from our own territories and raw materials we produce ourselves to increase exports in order to compete with other exporting countries; unless we have to, we will use our national labor force as little as possible to supply savages with all kinds of things they have never known or needed before. Of course, we will continue to trade goods with other countries in the future; however, if we have enough raw materials without increasing our current exports, we will use them primarily to produce goods not for export, but for ourselves - just as we have found that scarcity drives up prices, increased production has the opposite effect in the long run: the buyer gets more for his money.

I must repeat here what I have already said: it is not how many marks someone receives that matters, but how much they can buy with those marks – with their wages; our goal is to ensure that German workers will one day be the best-paid workers in the world, in line with their performance – because German workers are also the best workers in the world.

We have known for certain since the Führer announced the new Four-Year Plan in Nuremberg that the increase in production will be achieved by increasing the extraction of our own raw materials, and we know that this Four-Year Plan will be fulfilled just as surely as the first Four-Year Plan was fulfilled; economists need not worry about how all the new machines will be paid for, for we have the labor force, and we have most of the raw materials we need in the country: it is certainly no more difficult to create these weapons of peace to ward off hunger among our people than it is to create the myriad weapons of war to ward off potential attackers; the conversion of our national labor to the large-scale self-production of raw materials and the use of the goods produced with them in our own country is certainly no more difficult than the creation of work for millions and millions during the first Four-Year Plan; it is no more difficult than saving our peasantry from destruction; it is no more difficult than reintroducing the once-banned universal conscription that we have already implemented; it is no more difficult than the military occupation of our territories on the Rhine, than the restoration of our honor before the world - how small is the risk of a gradual and systematic conversion of our economy compared to the risks that the Führer has taken in the past four years!

Through his decisive foreign policy actions, the Führer of this nation has achieved our political freedom - and through his decisive economic policy actions, the Führer of the nation will also achieve our economic freedom.

My fellow citizens!

I know that what I have told you are, in part, sober truths, but they are truths that determine the lives of our people, of each and every one of our people; they are truths that must be spoken, especially in an area such as this, so that my fellow citizens, whose lives are still meager, whose often hard work is in many cases not yet fully rewarded by earnings commensurate with that work—so that these fellow citizens may

recognize the connections that determine fate and how difficult it is, even with the best of intentions, to change that fate; they should also know that those who lead are aware of these connections and are doing everything in their power to gradually achieve better living conditions.
Let this be their consolation in the midst of their often still difficult existence: their fate is not immutable, and the Führer is creating conditions to improve their own situation over time and to allow them to participate more and more materially in the great upswing that our people as a whole are experiencing; this upswing is so great, and this rescue took place in such a short time, that no one would have thought it possible; no one would have believed that the difficulties involved in rebuilding the completely devastated economy would be mastered so magnificently.
Many were firmly convinced that until our people recovered, hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions, would not be spared starvation - what does it mean, compared to the terrible fate that threatened us just a few years ago, if today there is occasionally too little fat, too little meat, or the like! What does it mean when we know that this shortage is a sign of recovery—when we know that an occasional shortage is a sign that millions have found work and bread, and are therefore buying more of such foodstuffs?
Let us rejoice in these signs of success, and let us take pride in helping ourselves with other foods temporarily, if necessary; let us bless our pride in following the Reich Food Administration's instructions on saving food and fighting spoilage to the letter.

I would like to appeal to you, German housewives, in particular: let's not kid ourselves – you influence more than just the moods of your own husbands; the mood of the German people depends largely on you and the atmosphere you create!
Every good housewife knows how to keep her family in good spirits, especially those who have had to go through more difficult times financially; regardless of the overall situation, they know how to prepare a good meal with simple means, through the art of housekeeping—because that is also an art—even when there is no meat, eggs, or butter.
Capable German housewives know what they have to do to serve this large German family, this family of the German people, when it has to overcome temporary minor emergencies - they shop in the interests of this large German family! They do not necessarily try to buy what is in short supply, but rather they buy from the abundance that is readily available; no good housewife mourns the pound of pork that she cannot get right now.
Every good German housewife is, in her own way, a mother of the German people; in many cases, she has the same and even greater duties to fulfill than the men of this nation, who will respect and honor her conduct - German women, show what you can do!

My fellow citizens! When leaders and followers in Germany discuss an occasional problem and come to a clear understanding of how best to solve it, certain people abroad are all too eager to conclude: “Thank God, the German economy is beginning to collapse under Hitler's leadership, and the Germans will soon start to go hungry!” But they can rest assured: we will not do them that favor!
We Germans have nothing to hide from each other; it would be foolish for the German leadership to unload all its worries onto the people, just as it would be foolish not to tell the people what situation they are in and what needs to be done for the common good. We are an honest community of destiny, those who lead and those who are led, and we will always, today and in the future, regardless of what others outside believe or say, stand openly before each other as leaders or followers of this community of destiny - after all, what is the motive of those outside who so desperately hope for us to starve? It is only the last

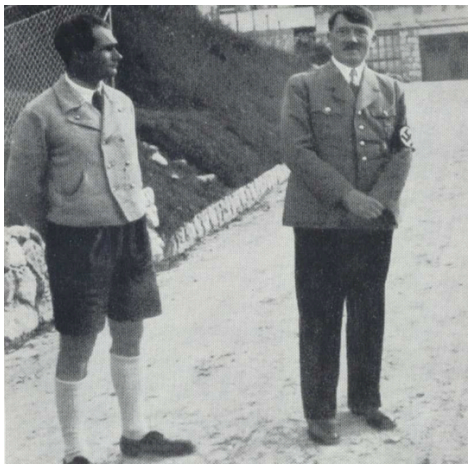
little straw to which they cling in their longing that, in the great conflict between Jewish Bolshevism and German National Socialism, National Socialism might finally lose a position or a battle, so that one might still hope that Jews and Bolsheviks will finally be victorious in Germany! To these people out there we can say: Your hopes are in vain!
We should be happy that, at worst, we lack butter to spread on our bread for a few days a year and do not lack bread itself for months, as is the case in the much-praised land of happiness and mass welfare, Soviet Russia; it can no longer be hidden from the world that during the so-called establishment of the communist order, millions have actually starved to death, and today, eighteen years after communism seized power in Russia, millions are again facing starvation—starvation in the midst of an agricultural country.
The world knows, as does every one of us who has ever had a chance to look at other countries, that social conditions in Germany are the best, that Germany is the most social country on earth; every "Strength Through Joy" sailor who has ever seen social misery with his own eyes, who has seen the misery of the working class in some of the countries his ship has called at, the huts in which these workers lived, will agree with me when I say that he returned home with the feeling: "Thank God, I am back in Germany, the Germany with the true socialist spirit!"
Whenever we have to make a small sacrifice, let us be grateful that we were saved from the fate of Soviet Russia, that we were saved from the fate of Spain; let us be grateful that we do not have the so-called proletariat and the so-called bourgeoisie fighting each other in a bloody civil war; that endless suffering has not befallen countless families of all classes in Germany; that people have not murdered each other in nameless hatred; let us be grateful that Bolshevik emissaries are not committing indescribable atrocities in Germany, crucifying German cattle, burning German people alive; let us be grateful that our towns and villages are not sinking into ruins, that our homes with all our belongings are not going up in flames; that our workplaces are not being destroyed, that we are not suffocating in need and misery - does anyone want to still stand up and say: yes, but I didn't get a quarter pound of butter today?

We all want to thank the Führer and the higher power who sent us the Führer: we want to give thanks that we have our daily bread, and we want to give thanks that we have become a united people, in which everyone stands together, in every need and every danger: equal comrades who can create peace and tranquility for themselves and their people.
We also want to thank him for the creation of the great Winter Relief Fund, the most powerful social relief organization the world has ever known; the sacrifice of each individual for this work is a thank you to the Führer, and I know that the German people will also do their duty this winter to those who need their help.
The German people hereby thank the Führer for creating, through our hands, works that we look upon with pride, that our children and grandchildren will look upon with pride: the mighty Autobahns, roads, and canals, magnificent community buildings, and soon countless buildings that will provide individuals with better homes, new farmland from swamps, new farmland on the coast.
We want to thank the Führer for creating a new youth, for creating a Labor Service, a community of one spirit that fills one's heart with joy.
We want to thank the Führer for creating a strong Wehrmacht—a mighty people's army, equipped with the best weapons, for protecting us from air attacks with aircraft squadrons, for enabling powerful ships to protect our compatriots out in the world, for making us safe again from all those who want to bring the horrors of war to Germany.

We want to thank the Führer for restoring our equality among the other nations of the world as a nation of honor.

United together, we want to continue to shape Germany's destiny together under the Führer, who rose from the ranks of the working people and became the Führer through his ability and his love for the German people: with him we fight - with him we march into Germany's future - we march with him so we can one day say: we have lived for Germany!”

“Memories of the Party's Beginnings”



On the Obersalzberg; in the mountains with the Führer

From a speech to district office managers at the Ordensburg Vogelsang on November 17th, 1936.

“When I see you all here before me, eight hundred district office managers, and when I consider that there are hundreds of thousands of political leaders out there in the country, I cannot help but think back to the time when the movement's first office manager was appointed:

It was 1920 - the corporal Adolf Hitler had just become party member Adolf Hitler, and was already presuming to appoint a man to carry out certain tasks in the small office in return for a salary; this was much to the dismay of the rest of the party, some of whom were wise men, because they were convinced that he was either more or less insane, an emissary of Freemasons or other dark forces with the mission of leading the small party to ruin and ultimately destroying it.
However, he did not appoint him full-time - even Adolf Hitler was not that reckless at the time; the man had to come to the office for a few hours every few days to do everything that you now do in the district, spread across so many individual items, as a single person.
Above all, of course, he had the office of a treasurer who had a group to keep in order - he did not have a safe at his disposal, but he did have a cigar box; he had to ensure that all new members of the movement were properly registered—not in a card index, but in a school notebook—because it happened that several party members joined in a single week. But above all, he had one advantage: he owned a typewriter, and I believe that people were generally convinced that the party's credibility had grown enormously after letters were sent out that were not handwritten, but typed on a real typewriter.

The office was located in a very small, modest room in the Sternecker - perhaps some of you still remember this little room: the walls looked a little strange, for the landlord had removed the wall coverings before taking the risk of renting the office to us, because there was no way of knowing whether this association would burn the precious spruce wood paneling for heat in the old soldierly manner.

It was also there in the Sternecker that I saw the Führer for the first time in my life; next to the office, in a small room, the party's evening meeting took place, and it was there that he gave the first speech I ever heard him give: some unfortunate soul had proposed the formation of a committee to monitor the party leadership; this was a welcome topic for the Führer, and I can assure you that this proposal was never made again!
Incidentally, almost the entire German party gathered daily in the same Sternecker restaurant—not in the large hall, but in a small room, which they filled completely—to gather and have lunch together. These were not exactly gourmet meals; everyone looked carefully at the menu beforehand to see how much each item cost, and in general, the deliberations ended with a decision in favor of what is known as "Tiroler Geröstel," which I believe is called Hoppelpoppel here. But that only lasted for part of the month; toward the end of the month, the ranks thinned out and most of them ended up in the soup kitchen, where they could eat for ten or twenty pfennigs; the Führer was also in those lines.

In the evenings, the entire party, led by party member Adolf Hitler, took to the streets and dark neighborhoods of Munich to distribute leaflets and put up small posters; one of them carried a pot of glue, while the others stood guard at the ends of the street. If anything suspicious appeared—and in general, anything that did not necessarily belong to the party was suspicious, especially if a representative of the high state authority appeared—they tried to make their faces as harmless as possible, and most of the time they succeeded.
The only thing that was disruptive and embarrassing was the glue pot, for it was very difficult to explain to the representative of the state authorities why they were carrying a glue pot, especially when there were freshly glued posters somewhere nearby that smelled of glue. We assured them that every citizen had the right to carry a glue pot with them whenever and wherever they wanted, but unfortunately the pockets of our military coats were suspiciously full; upon closer inspection, it turned out that they contained leaflets – some of them bloodthirsty, others more bourgeois and restrained. Not those of the NSDAP – we certainly didn't have the money to print our own leaflets at the time – but those of the "Schutz- und Trutzbund" (Protection and Defense League) or a small anti-Semitic weekly called the "Völkischer Beobachter", published by God knows who; only with time did we manage to find a man in Munich who, like us, did not entirely agree with the current government and differed from us only in one respect: he had a little more money than we did. To our amazement, he actually provided us with money to print our own leaflets.
This was then done extensively - the Führer designed the leaflets, which were of the same type as those he had designed throughout the entire period of struggle, and we invented completely new methods for distributing these leaflets: for example, we would each take a tram with a packet of leaflets in our pockets and then throw them out as the tram was moving; this system was based on the well-founded conviction that the police would not catch us, since we would disappear into the crowd at the next stop.
One very clever person came up with the idea of distributing his leaflets at the Oktoberfest, the so-called "Wiesn," by sitting on a carousel; he didn't realize that although the horses move, the carousel does not, and that even the horses stop running at some point - promptly, as he dismounted from his high horse, the eye of the law was there and took him to the police station.
Over time, we got to know all the guards in Munich. But that wasn't the worst of it - much worse was that the Munich police got to know us and that, gradually, each of us was carrying our identity cards around in public in the form of our faces; that was even less pleasant than it is sometimes today to carry your identity card around as your face, although the consequences today are the opposite.

This lively distribution of leaflets had another special result: once, when the Führer was on his way to the office, he was suddenly arrested in person; the rest of the party then met and agreed that the time had come to stage a coup with the twelve or fourteen active members and overthrow the government, or, at the very least, they wanted to storm the police headquarters and get Adolf Hitler out of there - in the end, however, this coup attempt did not take place, as the Führer was released earlier than expected, thanks to Pöhner and Frick, who were in charge of the police headquarters at the time; I believe that it would also have been very detrimental to this "large party" of the time if we had carried out the coup.

I like to recall these memories from time to time, and I am happy to share them with you, because I believe that only by recalling this period in our minds can we fully appreciate what it means that Adolf Hitler—at that time the leader of an insignificant, persecuted group of a few men—is now the head of state…"

“On the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact”

From a speech at the Reich Farmers' Day in Goslar on November 29th, 1936.

“We know that Bolshevism hates nothing more than the new Germany! That it looks with Old Testament hatred upon the country that once seemed so ripe for the taking and that, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, has become completely immune to its poison; with this same hatred, it looks upon the country that has become the center of the anti-Bolshevik movement in the world.
The Comintern knows that if Adolf Hitler had not come along with his National Socialism, if his new Germany had not come into being, its power would today extend from Vladivostok to the Atlantic and the Mediterranean! This makes us all the more certain that all the thoughts and aspirations of the Comintern and the power behind it are directed toward one day bringing down this German bulwark and turning it into a territory of Bolshevik terror.
We cannot be grateful enough to the Führer for having reduced this serious, ongoing threat to our nation through an act of global political significance, the Anti-Comintern Pact, which he concluded a few days ago with the great power in the East, Japan; Japan, too, has recognized the full significance of the Comintern's subversive activities, and two nations have come together in a common interest: in warding off the danger that threatens them both.
The events in Spain have shown the world the dangers that the activities of the Comintern entail, not only for the country directly affected, but also for the peace and tranquility between nations in general - therefore, the conclusion of a treaty for the joint and effective defense against the activities of the Comintern is a significant contribution to securing peace.

Abroad, Germany is accused of seeking to “divide peoples according to conflicting forms of government” - we do not want a division of peoples, but rather a union of peoples across all forms of government: we want a union of peoples to defend against those who have all too often proclaimed their intention to bring civil war to other peoples with fire and sword, arson and murder, and who have so often demonstrated with living examples how serious this intention is; we want a union of peoples against criminals who consciously and deliberately spread poisonous germs among the peoples - I say criminals, because even in Soviet Russia it is not the people who are Bolshevik of their own accord, but a Jewish clique that has terroristically imposed the straitjacket of Bolshevism on the people; that is why we regret most of all that our defense must at the same time be directed against a people whom the criminals have made so completely subservient to their dark aims.
We do not ask about the form of government of the peoples who stand together for self-preservation against the world plague; we do not ask whether they are authoritarian or democratic; we do not think of recommending our form of government to other peoples, let alone trying to introduce our form of government to them - but what we do know that it is the intention of the Comintern to use force to impose their form of government on other peoples, and we want the peoples to stand together against these attempts to interfere in their internal affairs—against these attempts to violate their self-determination.
Is this desire for united and joint defense to be called “intolerance”? With the same justification, one could call the standing together of the citizens of a state against people in their ranks who have organized themselves to commit burglaries against their fellow citizens, commit arson, commit robbery and murder, rape women, torture cattle – with the same justification, one could call the defense against this, the laws for the protection of society, one could call the police measures “intolerance”!

Here and there in the rest of the world, we are resented for creating solidarity between states that have truly recognized the danger of the Comintern and the means of power at its disposal - should we, because other states, despite the Spanish beacon, do not yet recognize this danger and are apparently unwilling to take the hand that has been offered to them again and again, refrain from forming a defensive alliance; are we expected to let ruin come upon us with our eyes wide open because others have no eyes to see?

A few years before the World War, Lord Kitchener told a German officer, now a professor of geopolitics, that he saw the coming catastrophe of a world war approaching, but considered it inevitable because there were no statesmen on any side who were far-sighted and energetic enough to avert it - now, in today's world, there are some statesmen who are far-sighted and energetic enough to do everything in their power to avert the new danger looming over their peoples—the danger of sinking into the chaos of world Bolshevism; they are not allowing their peoples to “stumble” into catastrophe like the statesmen of 1914. The world may still be suspicious of these statesmen today, but we are convinced that the time will come when it will be grateful to them - but we Germans are already grateful to them today, and we Germans are especially grateful to our Führer, whose concern and actions have given us a feeling of security in our Germany.”

“The Nature and Workings of the NSDAP”

Speech to officers of the National Political Training Course of the Wehrmacht, delivered on January 16th, 1937 in Berlin.

“Officers of the German Wehrmacht!
In the past, when a politician spoke to soldiers or, conversely, a soldier spoke to politicians, the speaker could generally expect the audience to be reserved, if not downright distrustful; this was especially true during the interwar period, the most unsoldierly era in German history - politicians generally found anything that smacked of military thinking, discipline, obedience, responsibility—in short, anything military—as embarrassing and repugnant as holy water to the devil, while on the other hand, and for the opposite reasons, politicians were a highly unpleasant, if not abhorrent, phenomenon to healthy soldiers, precisely because the politicians of the time held in high esteem everything that soldiers detested in their thinking and actions; it must often have seemed downright provocative when soldiers spoke in front of politicians or politicians spoke in front of soldiers, and I can imagine that sometimes it took courage – or even audacity!
My officers! I stand before you without feeling either way; however, I am also convinced that I am not a politician of the type that was common before 1933, and that is why I speak before you with genuine pleasure, just as I know that today, for example, the Field Marshal of the Wehrmacht takes pleasure in speaking before an audience of so-called politicians or political leaders - of course, the majority of today's politicians and political leaders are also soldiers, men with a soldier's way of thinking, feeling, and acting; I myself am always proud to say that I was a soldier throughout the entire Great War, that as a front-line soldier in the fiercest battles in the West, I experienced and absorbed the most concentrated soldiering.
The purpose of my speech to you is to deepen your understanding of the great organization through which the political will of the new Reich is transmitted to the people—to deepen your understanding of the NSDAP, which has become the bearer of the political power of the masses, just as the Wehrmacht is the bearer of the military power of these masses: both prevent chaos in their respective fields, and both are organizing, guiding, and unifying; understanding this political organization, the scope of its activities, its structure, and the interlocking of its members is all the more important for soldiers—but also for anyone else who leads in any field—because although this organization bears the name of a party, it is so much more than a party of yesteryear because it is so comprehensive in all conceivable areas and touches on the bearers of the entire nation's life - I have therefore chosen as my topic: “The Nature and Workings of the NSDAP.”

The task of all political action is to preserve and strengthen the nation; strengthening is particularly important because, as everywhere else and here in particular, stagnation means decline, especially as the surrounding nations grow in strength.
The most essential means of strengthening a nation is power, and strengthening power therefore means strengthening the nation - conversely, strengthening the nation also means strengthening power, because power is rooted in the nation.
The foundations of power are:

1. The size of the space that the nation calls its own – its soil with what it contains and what can thrive on it.

2. The geographical location of the space, the power and significance of the surrounding nations, and the strength or weakness of its natural borders; climatic conditions are also decisive for the advantages and disadvantages of the location, especially in economic terms.
3. The people in their total value, which is composed of their number and average quality, supplemented by the value of individuals who exceed the average.

The foundations of power are further:
4. The weapons that a nation creates, both in quantity and quality; here I also include intellectual weapons.
5. Immeasurable factors, such as the respect that a nation has earned in the eyes of the world through its overall attitude, through the attitude of its leaders, its soldiers, and its children abroad; the way in which the nation's reputation is preserved—a reputation that, for example, is enhanced by its flag flying alone - the German poet [Ferdinand] Freiligrath once wrote a poem entitled “Fire, but don't hurt the flag,” in which an English consul on a distant island protects an English sailor from foreign pursuers simply by draping the Union Jack over him and laconically calling out to the others: “Fire, but don't move the flag!” No one dares, and Freiligrath concludes: “When will that big day come for us too!?” - I believe that day is not far off!

Let me point out another example of imponderable power bases: a high-ranking foreign officer once told me that, in his observation, the greatest tragedy and the most serious aftereffect of the Battle of the Marne in 1914 was the sudden disappearance of the conviction that had been firmly rooted in the enemy—especially the French—until then: that the German onslaught cannot be stopped; that German armies, driven by the will to victory, cannot be stopped. The “Furor Teutonicus” swept across France in 1870/71, and it swept across France again in 1914 - the message was clear: abandon all hope! However, the fact that the German armies suddenly came to a halt and even retreated meant the collapse of the miracle; the loss of the belief that no force could stand up to German power meant a loss of prestige that could not be regained in its entirety.
In many cases, however, the belief in miracles remained: most of you will know from your own experience that, especially on the eastern battlefields, the unexpected appearance of German formations in place of other troops that had been there until then spread paralysis and often created a feeling of being lost, even if the actual balance of power did not in the least justify this; the German soldier retained part of this mystical effect throughout the collapse because even the times of shame could not erase the world's memory of the heroism of the field-gray Germans.

We do not want to expand our territory – at least not by force. We cannot change our geographical location; it is due to our limited space and unfavorable geographical location that we are unable to produce everything we need in terms of raw materials and food to satisfy our own needs within our own territory, and this means not only economic weakness, but also dependence on the outside world - thus, we must suffer from global economic crises that arise through no fault of our own, and dependence on the outside world means, in any case, a restriction of our self-determination. Therefore, self-determination—true freedom—is only possible hand in hand with self-sufficiency; self-sufficiency can be ensured by a colonial territory that encompasses everything conceivably necessary.
It must then be assumed, of course, that the means of power are such that they are sufficient to protect all access routes from the colonies against conceivably strong coalitions of opponents in an emergency - this

is where the significance of English naval power is deeply rooted; the English empire is self-sufficient in its entirety, and the freedom of the English people is assured as long as England controls the connection between the mother country and its colonies.
As long as Germany does not have a self-sufficient economic area of its own, its freedom is not necessarily secure; it is not necessarily secure as long as its economy can only be kept going by the supply of essential raw materials along routes that can be blocked at any time by those who are hostile to it - here, the Four-Year economic plan will bring Germany closer to self-sufficiency.
The effect of this new plan is equivalent to an expansion of our territory and an improvement in our geographical position; the world should recognize that we are securing our life and freedom not by force, but through the use of our intellect and our organizational skills - if eternal pessimists do not believe that it is possible to transform our people's economy in the way that the Four-Year Plan does, if they doubt that the capital can be raised that must be invested in enormous new factories and machinery, then I can only reply: it is no more difficult to put six million people who are on the brink of economic ruin back to work and provide them with bread than it is to redirect those who are already working to other areas of work! It is also no more difficult to equip a million-strong army with the most modern weapons than it is to build new factories and new machines for productive purposes - Germany will secure its freedom in terms of economic policy, just as it has secured its freedom in military terms.

Pre-war Germany cultivated and strengthened the real foundations of power, above all military power, in accordance with old traditions – insofar as it was not prevented from doing so by parliament: if the weapons of 1914 were not available in the numbers and of the quality that might have been possible—if, at the decisive moment on the Marne, the three army corps that the General Staff had demanded and that could have brought about the decision were missing, then the Reichstag was to blame.
You know that National Socialism has ensured that today the nation's necessities of life can no longer be discussed by the Reichstag and made the subject of political horse-trading; you have seen that in the new Germany, decisions of historic significance are made within a few hours by the Führer and his cabinet – decisions that in other countries would require days and weeks of parliamentary debate.
I do not need to explain to you—the officers of our Wehrmacht—what the new Reich has done in terms of the military training of the nation and the arming of its soldiers; the Führer has made it his business to ensure that, if someone really does attacks us, precious blood will not have to be shed because money was saved beforehand.
Saving on armaments is saving in the wrong place - this thriftiness can mean the greatest waste. Saving a few hundred million marks here can mean the waste of billions in material assets through the loss of a war, not to mention the loss of even more precious assets, namely millions of the best of our people - if, at the beginning of the war in 1914, Germany had spent perhaps a billion marks on the three army corps mentioned above and on consistently stronger armaments in terms of machine guns and heavy artillery, this would have decided the war of 1914 in Germany's favor: the German people and, not least, its economy would have been spared over 100 billion marks, which were spent over the course of the war and was paid to our enemies after the war was lost – not to mention the cost of our dead!
A very high level of armament can pose such a high risk to an attacker that it prevents a war with its unprecedented costs in blood and property from the outset; conversely, weak armament can virtually invite attack, especially when a foreign state has internal difficulties: when it cannot cope with unemployment, when the people are becoming increasingly politically divided, and it is tempted to divert attention from internal difficulties by means of easily achieved military successes.

But as essential as weapons are, even more essential are the people who wield them, in terms of their numbers, their physical condition, and above all their mental state—even more essential are the people who, as a nation, stand behind the armed forces.
Pre-war Germany may have tried to increase the size of its population, but it failed to maintain or even improve the quality of its people; meanwhile, the post-war period deliberately worked to reduce the population and worsen its racial composition: the press, film, and theater were used—often in barely noticeable ways, but all the more effective in the long run—to overcome the natural racial instinct of the people, their aversion to Jews and Jewishness, their aversion to Negroes, etc.; I do not need to explain to you in detail how decisively the new Reich has begun to counteract this, how strongly it is working to increase the birth surplus again and how it is raising racial quality again through law and education.
What was completely lacking in the old Reich was a real, profound psychological influence on the people with the aim of shaping them internally into the supporting factor of the state, of hardening them for the severe trials that fate imposes, while the tendency of the interim Reich naturally ran in the opposite direction - only National Socialist Germany has used all the influence it had gained over the people to make them spiritually strong, to educate them to be a people of the state, and to adjust their thinking and actions to the great needs of the nation - this education of the people, their spiritual guidance, is the task of the NSDAP.
With the implementation of Hitler's government, you have been able to observe how keenly the new Reich is intent on strengthening the imponderable foundations of power - the Führer watches over nothing more jealously than the honor of the nation.
Even before the seizure of power, National Socialism had spread the intangible foundations of power within the people, such as the pride and spirit of resistance; this was embodied in such a way that the rulers of the Republic of 1918 fell because they themselves embodied the opposite of these virtues - it was pure self-preservation that drove them to do everything, consciously and unconsciously, to prevent the pride and spirit of resistance from arising among the people; they naturally had to succumb because our people were more attracted to the spirit of honor than to the spirit of dishonor.

Even more important than in peacetime is psychological influence over the entire population, and especially on soldiers, beyond purely military virtues during wartime - here, the governments of 1914 to 1918 failed completely:
Our weapons in 1918 were not significantly weaker than those of the enemy - certainly, there were many periods during the war when they were much weaker than in 1918, times when, for example, our ammunition had to be conserved to such an extent that even the heaviest fire could hardly be answered with a few shots, yet despite this, our troops held their ground at that time.
The spirit of the people made resistance possible even with ridiculous numerical ratios and a lack of weapons opposing it: determined defensive positions often held back entire divisions, and significantly inferior forces fought victories that are recorded in world history for all time. It was only when the people changed did the outcome of the fighting change - in 1918, we had an abundance of ammunition, so much so that production had to be restricted; despite this, the fronts collapsed because the people became weary. It was the people that had changed—especially mentally.
The failure of the people towards the end of the war was partly the result of numerical inferiority, which placed demands on the individual that were many times greater than those placed on the enemy: the enemy relieved its troops to allow them to rest properly, and it had trench work carried out by labor troops

provided specifically for this purpose, many of whom were from foreign nations; we, on the other hand, were almost constantly in the mud and dirt, led into the fire again and again, and during these so-called "rest periods", we dug trenches and hauled materials, forced to forego even the most necessary sleep - all this naturally had its consequences, and malnutrition did the rest, not least in the homeland, whose mood was reflected on the front.

The main thing, however, was that there was no counterbalance, no corresponding influence on the mental state of the war front and the home front; indeed, the people were even exposed to the propaganda of the opposing side—the influence of the Entente and the Marxists. A government that was alien to the psyche of the people showed itself to be completely helpless; it proved disastrous that pre-war Germany had failed to put the right people in the right places at the right time: at the helm of the state were leaders—insofar as one can speak of leaders here—who had not the slightest connection with the people, did not know their feelings and did not understand their language, let alone were capable of speaking to the people in their language; the man of the people, Lloyd George, with his convincing and rousing speeches, and the irrepressible hothead Clemenceau, who came from the people, were opposed on the German side by a bloodless philosopher: Bethmann Hollweg.

In Germany, the capable, people-oriented leader, a real leader, could not break through to the decisive position - what would it have meant if, instead of performing duties that at least hundreds of thousands of others could also perform, Adolf Hitler had been given the task of influencing the people's minds based on his knowledge of their psyche? Perhaps the decline of the German people would not have come "five minutes too early," and perhaps the war would still have been won.

Lloyd George said that he thought with horror of what might have happened if the Germans had only held out until the following spring, and I also recall the judgment of an American admiral who knew of England's desperate cries for help, because submarine warfare was so much more effective than was admitted and threatened to strike at the lifeblood of England - incidentally, the unfortunate fact that the right people were not in the right places also had an impact on the handling of submarine warfare: how successful could submarine warfare have been, and at an earlier stage, if it had not been practically abandoned at the instigation of the political leadership and only resumed after England had organized an effective defense based on the experience it had gained in the meantime!

To sum up:

In addition to the failure of parliament, which is to blame for inadequate armaments, the inadequate deployment of formations—even though the manpower was available—the failure of diplomacy, which allowed us to enter the World War under the most unfavorable balance of power and made the hunger blockade possible, and the strain of numerical inferiority and malnutrition, it was the lack of psychological influence on the front and at home that caused the Germans to abandon the final battle, perhaps shortly before the collapse of the enemy was within our grasp—or at least shortly before the enemy was so worn down that it was ready to make peace on acceptable terms.

The lack of or practically non-existent psychological influences can be explained by the absence of any real connection between the people and the state leadership; it can be explained by the absence of leaders with popular support in positions of authority and by the absence of an organizational link between the people and their leaders, an apparatus such as that available to a large party; these sort of parties with such apparatuses did exist, but the parties of that time were primarily class-based parties, with some having no contact with the broad masses of the people, while others were rooted in the masses but had no interest in establishing a connection between the people and the government and influencing the masses in the

interests of the nation; instead, they used the masses to pave their way to power, deliberately ignoring the vital interests of the nation.
In their original essence, the parties could have been the link between the government and the people – but they were not! After the revolt of 1918—in the interregnum—some parties, namely those rooted in the people, did establish a connection between the people and the government, but both these parties and the governments were anti-national; they abused this connection more than ever in the interests of international pacifist ideologies, and through the parties' propaganda organizations, through public meetings, through the press, they worked increasingly against the real interests of Germany; the nationally minded parties, on the other hand, were powerless because they lacked both the technical means of propaganda and the knowledge of the psyche of the people to predict the effect of this propaganda.
This is where the National Socialist German Workers' Party stepped in - after returning from the front, Adolf Hitler clearly recognized the situation; he drew his conclusions just as clearly and, with his characteristic energy, set about building a new party that would work among the masses and with the means that would be successful with the people—a party, however, whose ideas stood in stark contrast to those of the other mass parties and which placed the interests of the nation above all else. As a man who came from the people and had lived among workers and soldiers, he knew how to appeal to the masses, and he also knew what was preventing these masses, whose good nature he recognized, from joining the nationalist parties: apart from their alienation from the people, it was their lack of social understanding—the class spirit, which in its conceit was no less alienating than “class consciousness.” As a front-line soldier, he knew that mutual understanding between members of different social classes was possible, that they could stick together if only they were brought together and stripped of their outward appearances; he knew how much they could feel that they truly depended on each other and had very important common interests that took precedence over personal interests - Adolf Hitler therefore appealed to true socialism, which demands the common good before self-interest, which places the common interests of the whole above individual interests, which sees in the fellow citizen, as long as he performs useful work in any way, a respectable member of his people; all the more worthy of respect, as the experience of the World War has shown, is the fact that even the fellow citizen who has hardly anything of his own worth defending stands by his people in the critical hour with the same devoted willingness to make sacrifices.
At the same time, however, Adolf Hitler appealed to true nationalism, which places its people and its nation above all else, which knows that only the ultimate sacrifice for this nation will enable its preservation in the long term, and thus the preservation of the individual; he knows that the true nationalist must also be a socialist, because he can only expect this commitment if the individual members of his people are as well off as possible under the given circumstances, and he knows that this commitment only has a chance of success if the individual fighter is and remains healthy in body and soul.

Every front-line soldier had unconsciously become a National Socialist; those of you who were at the front yourselves know how closely the spirit of the front was related to what we today understand as National Socialism in the best sense of the word: the mutual dependence during times of danger welded leaders and men together, and living together in a small space created mutual understanding, even camaraderie outside of duty, without in the least detracting from discipline in the service; a higher form of discipline even emerged, a discipline born of loyalty and conviction of necessity.

All of this—applied to the entire national community—is an essential part of National Socialism: by preaching National Socialism, Hitler merely expressed and spread through his teachings what the front-line soldiers had long felt and consciously lived by; it was therefore no coincidence that the struggle for the new idea began with the help of other front-line soldiers.

He deliberately made use of his opponents' methods on many occasions: red posters, armbands, flags in which red predominated, and, as the movement grew stronger, street parades and mass rallies upon mass rallies.
Countless people on the nationalist side, on the bourgeois side, did not understand this and accused him of "nationalist-tinged Marxism" or "national Bolshevism"; meanwhile, the left-wing labeled him a "socialist-tinged nationalist" or "reactionary" - he paid no attention to either side and steadfastly followed his own path.
And what a difficult path it was! He was without a name, without money, without a newspaper, against the power of capital, against the power of the press, against the power of the state; the difficulties were endless, and new resistance arose again and again. New paths had to be found when the ones previously taken were no longer viable; the opponents fought, first with silence, then with slander and lies, then with terror and murder, while fines and prison sentences alternated with bans - only tenacity and faith made it possible to persevere. I don't need to tell you how, despite everything, the movement slowly, slowly spread, how it then seemed to be finally finished on November 9th, 1923, and yet prevailed again—it prevailed thanks to the incredible energy and at the same time prudence of the Führer at the helm.
The rebuilding of the party in 1925 was no less difficult, but the few men at the beginning had grown to thousands; the thousands then became tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions. The spirit has triumphed: our ideas have triumphed!
The fact that the proclamation of these ideas could not be prevented in the long run, or the proclaimers were not continuously shouted down and beaten, is thanks to the SA and SS; the Führer created them out of the realization that it is not enough to fight ideas with ideas, but that when the enemy uses brute force against ideas, brute force must be used in response - the best mind with the best ideas is ineffective if a brutal fist smashes that mind.
Just like the SA and SS, our speakers and political leaders were also exposed to danger and made sacrifices in the struggle: they built the political organization from nothing, often sacrificing their hard-earned money, and the gradual growth of this huge organization, which was structured down to the smallest villages and converged centrally at the top with the Führer, was as essential to the final success as the real power of the SA and SS; the apparatus of this organization enabled the Führer to convey his thoughts to the people with the greatest possible uniformity, over and over again, down to the smallest street cell. From there, reports flowed back to the Führer from the smallest branches, which eventually spread to hundreds of thousands throughout the Reich, about the mood of the people, about the effect of his actions, his speeches, his leaflets, his posters, and press releases.
Through this apparatus, there was a constant pulsation between the leadership and the led, and ultimately, the entire population was influenced by the ideas of National Socialism—some more, some less, but all to some extent; the longer the seizure of power was delayed, the more inevitable it became that, one day, the government would fall to Adolf Hitler like an overripe fruit.
The people, imbued with National Socialism, finally found fulfillment in the National Socialist state, and they regarded Hitler's accession to power as a matter of course. The Führer, however, merely needed to have his long-standing practical leadership of the people legalized, for the leadership of the people was

supplemented by the leadership of the state and its instruments of power; therefore, his apparatus for maintaining the bond between himself, the people and the party, was more important than ever and was expanded even further.
Even more than before, the Führer today needs the organization that enables him to verify the effect of his measures on the people by relaying their response to him; he also needs it in order to influence the people as before, to prepare measures and make them understandable. In many cases, however, his direct influence is not even necessary, since most of his subordinate leaders have long been so well attuned to his ideas, and have developed such a keen sense of the background to his actions, that his party reacts correctly on its own in the broad sense; all that is then required is a review by the next higher level of leadership to ensure that everything is being done in accordance with Adolf Hitler's wishes, so that, where necessary, corrective action is taken.
The Führer's actions are so consistent with what he prepared during the long years before his seizure of power, and everything is so imbued with the spirit of his National Socialism, that in general no justification is necessary, for the main work had already been done in the period before the seizure of power: without the transformation of the entire mindset of the people through years of work by the National Socialist movement, all the actions of the National Socialist government that were so deeply involved in the life of the people and were necessary for recovery would not have been possible – the first referendums would have resulted in disaster. What government of a democratic country can enjoy such unanimous approval of its actions from the people?

The technical path of mutual enrichment between the government and the people is provided today by the local group leader conferences, district leader conferences, Gauleiter conferences, and cabinet meetings: at the district leader conferences, the results of the conferences of the lower divisions of the individual districts are summarized and presented, and processed in a mutual exchange of opinions; based on what has been communicated to him, the party minister is then in a position to make the reports from the "front" fruitful for the Führer and in the cabinet meetings. Conversely, what the Führer wants to be communicated to the people and what is to be conveyed to the people from the cabinet meetings, i.e., from the work of the government, takes the opposite route, going from the Gauleiter conferences, Kreisleiter conferences, and Ortsgruppenleiter conferences.
Thus, the multiplicity of parties with conflicting interests and fundamental ideas, parties that were supposed to represent the people but never really did, was replaced by a single, unified, self-contained, spirit- and idea-inspired true representation of the people in the form of the National Socialist German Workers' Party: a party led by a Führer who is also the Führer of the nation; a party that subordinates all smaller interests that converge in it into the greater interest that stands above all else: the interest of the nation, the interest of Germany; a party that has also achieved the seemingly impossible: the internationally minded worker of yesteryear has become the German worker of today.
Anyone who remembers the constant wage struggles in the years before the seizure of power can appreciate what it means to have persuaded the workers to be content with wages that are certainly not high; the workers make sacrifices because they are convinced of the necessity of making sacrifices for the common good, because they feel that everyone is being asked to make sacrifices, that employers too must be content with lower profits, since most of these are taxed away and used to procure further work. The workers felt a sense of solidarity in their common work, and they saw their achievements recognized on National Labor Day, May 1st, which national Germany had taken away from the Internationale; they saw how, in the formations of the National Socialist movement, all class differences and all class snobbery had

indeed disappeared, how the national community had become a reality - in the SA and SS, no one was asked: where are you from, who is your father, what kind of clothes do you usually wear, what school did you attend? Instead, only one question was asked: “Do you want to fight for Hitler and for Germany?” The workers saw that only one thing mattered here: their person, their character, their attitude; they saw how the same spirit prevailed in the Hitler Youth, how the nation's offspring were already being educated in this spirit, and how here, too, the worker's child marched alongside the officer's child in a shared belief in Germany and its greatness; they saw how everyone voluntarily submitted when someone was appointed as their leader.

I ask you to recall the days of the collapse in 1918, the mutinies in all their horror, the behavior of the workers at that time and in the period that followed, the “workers' councils” and “soldiers' councils”: the idea of discipline, or even subordination, the concepts of soldiering, officers, and superiors had the effect of a red rag; a call to integrate, to march, meant “provoking the proletariat”; anyone who said a word in favor of the army was labeled a “militaristic bloodhound” and other such charming titles - today, many, many of these same workers of yesteryear are now willingly marching in the new Wehrmacht—voluntarily marching to their eight-week courses!

When, after March 16th, 1935, I spoke about conscription to thousands and thousands of the same workers who, only a few years earlier, had sung the Marseillaise, at the Neufreimann railway workshops, formerly the reddest factory in Munich, I was interrupted again and again by applause and cheers that I would never have thought possible: it was the most beautiful and at the same time most moving demonstration of my life.

But be aware: this upheaval among the German working class, this change in their attitudes, would never have happened without the work of the NSDAP and its leaders, right down to the smallest cell leaders; had they not worked among the masses with a self-sacrifice and devotion that only Germans are capable of, again and again, even though they were too often met with scorn and brutal fists, and had they not been able to convey their belief in the purity of Adolf Hitler's will, we would have to try to build the new Reich against millions of German workers! Do you believe it would have been possible to create a real Wehrmacht without the cooperation of the workers; do you believe that your guns, your planes, your tanks would be available in the numbers and quality they are today if the workers had engaged in silent sabotage; do you believe, my officers, that you would have troops under your command that you could rely on in an emergency if the vast majority of workers were only serving under duress; do you believe that Adolf Hitler would then have been able to even consider introducing universal conscription or occupying the left bank of the Rhine? No - Germany is so great and strong today because its poorest sons are among its most loyal!

In many principles, the German army was already socialist in the best sense of the word in the old Reich; it was National Socialist without knowing it, for what else was it when, for example, a recruit from even the highest aristocratic family had to submit and stand at attention in front of a superior who came from a small artisan family; wasn't it skill rather than origin that prevailed in this institution? Given the unprecedented demands placed on the training of young general staff officers, wasn't the only decisive factor whether they met these demands - couldn't Mackensen, from a small farming family, become a field marshal; couldn’t Tirpitz, the son of a paymaster, become a grand admiral; couldn't Hipper, whose father owned a small ironmongery, command battlecruisers?!

National Socialism elevated the “marshal's baton in the knapsack” to a principle, for in the old army, there was still a certain barrier that could only be overcome in very rare exceptional cases: a barrier of

academic knowledge. It was National Socialism that broke down this barrier, recognizing that the ability to solve Pythagoras' theorem or conjugate verbs in a foreign language is not decisive for suitability as a military leader, for the qualities of a born leader can be found in all strata and educational levels of our people - a natural leader can always learn the basics of good manners as a prerequisite for becoming an officer, but the prerequisites for being a true leader cannot be learned, no matter how well-mannered and educated one may be!
National Socialism has added further traits to the great socialist characteristics of the Wehrmacht – mainly those that manifest themselves in very small ways: what a psychological effect, for example, the manner in which a superior returns a salute can have! These are small things that do not harm discipline or reduce the distance between leader and man that is necessary in service – they are small, yet essential!
Not least, the German worker joins the German Wehrmacht in the conviction that this new Wehrmacht is also imbued with the spirit of the new Reich; he comes from the national community into a Wehrmacht that is, for him, the product of this national community. For even more than others, the National Socialist national community is at the center of his thinking today, and it is a pleasure for me to be able to observe time and again how much this fact is taken into account in the Wehrmacht from the very top: our Field Marshal feels and acts through and through as a National Socialist.

Now that the party has reached the national community, it is fulfilling its tasks for this national community: the organizations of the NSDAP are used to educate the people about race and health issues with the aim of improving public health and race and increasing the population; measures that were previously unthinkable, such as sterilization to prevent the birth of children with hereditary diseases, are now taken for granted thanks to the work of the movement.
Within the framework of the SA, SS, HJ, and BDM, people who voluntarily join these organizations undergo physical training and mental education in the National Socialist spirit; old and young, who previously spent most of their free time on the streets and in pubs, are taken out for joint exercises and hikes where the fresh air, contact with nature, physical exercise, and the influence of the National Socialist community are even more important here than drill and shooting.
A large number of special organizations bring the new spirit into all aspects of national life - here I must mention: the Doctors' League, the Teachers' League, the Lawyers' League, the National Socialist League of German Technology, the National Socialist Cultural Community, the National Socialist Women's League, and above all, as an affiliated association, the powerful organization of the German Labor Front.
The leaders of the special organizations who are familiar with a particular subject are called upon and involved in the drafting of laws of the new state that affect their field, whereby they must first and foremost ensure that the technical aspects are in harmony with National Socialist principles.
In the branches of the movement, as in these special organizations, there is the opportunity to train talented individuals in practical work in special fields and to train young people to become leaders; here, capable individuals have the opportunity to prove themselves, whereby the path to advancement can be cleared for them. This applies above all to members of the Foreign Organization - at the headquarters in Berlin, as well as in the groups abroad, leaders are familiarized with foreign affairs through practical service. A large number of talented individuals, who in recent years have been continuously involved in a large part of the work of our official foreign representations and have thus become familiar with official techniques, would already be in a position today to work in the foreign service, with some of them have already been accepted.

As in their homeland, Germans abroad are also influenced by the National Socialist regional and local groups of the NSDAP in the National Socialist spirit: they are being educated to regain a proud awareness of their German identity, to stick together, to respect one another—they are being taught to always place Germans above members of foreign nations, regardless of class or origin; on this basis, they have succeeded in uniting the often fragmented German communities abroad. These groups also establish a living connection between the German colonies and official Germany abroad; this fact was reflected in the appointment of the Gauleiter of the Foreign Organization as head of the Foreign Organization in the Foreign Office - here, too, this personal union ensures consistency between the actions of the state and the party.
Much of what was new has already found its way into new channels, and much has taken on more contemporary forms - much is still in the midst of change.

Given the spiritual transformation that the people have undergone, and given the changed perspectives from which they view everything that has any connection to them and their state, it was inevitable that the external forms in which church life takes place would also be viewed critically and that friction would arise between the bearers of these forms and the living faith of the people.
The faith of the people remains unaffected by such disputes; no one in the leadership of the Reich or in the leadership of the party thinks of taking away the Germans' faith, for even the old front-line fighters of the NSDAP knows better than anyone how much strength that a faith in God can give people in their darkest hours.
None of the influential leaders of the NSDAP would think of robbing the soldiers of this faith, and none is so stupid as to deny the omnipotence of God - that is precisely why we do not want faith in a higher power to be chained to forms that are meaningless to most of us, to dogmas that are no longer compatible with advanced knowledge. For the sake of preserving our deep inner faith in God, we do not want it to be equated with the bearers of external worship; we do not want faith in God to waver when priests are murdered, altars desecrated, and churches burned down in the rest of the world without God appearing to punish them - we are convinced that our faith in God and our Christianity can withstand severe storms better than the faith in God and Christianity of those who too often cling to outward appearances.
We National Socialists of charity, of the NSV, of the Winter Relief Fund, of Christmas gifts for millions of poor people, of the great, all-encompassing national community, consider ourselves better Christians than those who too often only pay lip service to the word of Christ. We have no intention of founding new churches—such as National Socialist churches; we give the churches what belongs to the churches, but we demand for our state what belongs to our state.

A new, previously unknown corps of leaders is in the process of formation and internal consolidation, with most of its members having developed into leaders during times of struggle. The only decisive factor in their selection and appointment could be this: to what extent is the leader—who often joined the fighting troops in the most critical situations or took command during the struggle—truly the right man for the battle that is being fought? The leaders who were chosen were those who knew best how to fight against the enemy that had to be confronted.
They proved themselves a hundredfold, almost without exception; they stood their ground during the long and difficult years of struggle for the people, without gaining any personal advantage from it; on the contrary, the public is hardly aware of the mental, emotional, and material suffering endured by these fighters for a different Germany, these wrestlers for the soul of the people - what did it mean in Neukölln,

for example, for individuals—and until the seizure of power, they remained individuals in these areas—to openly declare their support for the Nazis in front of their "comrades," to put on the brown shirt and thereby be provocative, as their opponents called it!
The nightly walk home from a meeting or a march was often a race with death, and all too many lost that race: in dark corners and gloomy alleys that had to be passed through, assassins lurked, with groups of Red Fronters openly attacking the lonely and defenseless. In any case, everything was done to destroy him materially, whether it was boycotting his small business or forcing his removal from the workplace by his fellow workers at the factory - one had to see the starving misery of such people, to experience the despair of wives and mothers at the graves of murdered fighters, in order to fully appreciate what it meant to be a National Socialist during the years of the struggle for power, and to remain a National Socialist despite everything!
And even today, the vast majority of them do their not always easy work in an impeccable manner, often setting an example, even if one or the other has not yet understood how to adapt completely to "peacetime" and their language is often still warlike, harsh, and often undiplomatic; I would like to emphasize that 97% of these leaders serve on a voluntary basis, and even today, they are still servants for the sake of serving the cause and the idea for which they once stood up for.

The NSDAP, in which so many former soldiers hold leading positions, has the highest respect for the Wehrmacht, all the more so because it knows what an incredible achievement this Wehrmacht, the majority of its officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted men, has accomplished through rearmament in such a short time. I also know that the Wehrmacht as a whole has just as much respect for the achievements of the NSDAP - that is why, to my delight, the relationship between the two institutions has become a good one everywhere, insofar as it was not already a good one.
How could it be otherwise? After all, the Wehrmacht, as an organization of military power, is dependent on the party as an organization of political power, and vice versa: the party provides the Wehrmacht with people who have been trained physically and mentally for defense, and the Wehrmacht returns disciplined, soldierly-minded men to the care of the party; the Führer's unique achievement in history, namely Germany's withdrawal from the Treaty of Versailles without any military involvement, would not have been possible if he had not been able to rely on the people, who had been mentally trained by his party, on the one hand, and on the Wehrmacht, which he had already developed into an instrument of power, on the other.
Germany, the country where ideas have always caused the most profound conflicts, would not be able to survive in a time that is increasingly drifting toward conflicts between worldviews if the party did not guarantee internal unity; it guarantees unity by aligning everything with one idea and mobilizing the power of the people through this idea as the executive organ of this idea.

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I have tried to give you a broad outline of the development, nature, and tasks of the NSDAP.
Some of you may have been of the opinion that today, after the former parties have disappeared, the NSDAP no longer has a right to exist - the NSDAP not only has a right to exist, but is a necessity, especially from the point of view of your area of interest; this necessity is all the greater today, as politics and the continuation of politics by other means—war—relies on the entire people, and the spirit of the people is decisive for the success of both.

Just as the army is the technical means of organizing and leading the real power of the people—its material and military power—in attack and defense, so the party is the technical means of organizing and leading the spiritual and political power of the people in attack and defense - in this, both organizations complement each other and influence each other at the same time.
The NSDAP is a necessity, especially in authoritarian Germany: the more authoritarian the state, the more necessary it is to have a corrective in the form of a genuine representation of the people; it must prevent the government from gradually distancing itself from the people by taking advantage of the convenient opportunity to act completely independently and making decisions from behind closed doors that are neither influenced by the healthy sentiments of the people nor verified in their effect on the people, so that the blessing of the authoritarian form of government becomes a curse and the people's trust in it dwindles.
You know that, incidentally, the Führer not only maintains constant contact with the leaders of his "representative body," the party, but also addresses the people directly in referendums at longer intervals to allow them to vote on very important decisions in the life of the nation; in this way, he continually renews his authorization to lead - referendums are a way of directly testing whether a leader has lost touch with the people, while at the same time, they give the people the feeling that they still have a connection with their leader.

Many may regard it as a happy coincidence that Adolf Hitler was given to the German people at the right time - I, however, am convinced that it is not coincidence but destiny that enables peoples who are close to ruin and who are not worthy of submission to produce the man who will save them from ruin and raise them to new greatness; I do not believe it is coincidence that, at a time when the ability to lead a people depends so heavily on the attitude of the masses toward that leadership, a man rises to the highest position in the Reich who himself belonged to those masses and therefore, from the outset, enjoys more trust and has more opportunities to influence them than someone coming from above; I do not believe it is a coincidence that this same man possesses such extraordinary abilities and such comprehensive knowledge that even the upper echelons of the nation's leadership willingly submit to his knowledge; perhaps it is also no coincidence that fate has forced him to serve in the political arena from the bottom up, just as a clever institution of the Wehrmacht requires that even the future army commander begin by standing in line and practicing to "Take the high ground!" during field service.
The fact that the Führer once personally distributed leaflets he had written in Munich against the Treaty of Versailles or personally brought down theater performances in which front-line soldiers were insulted is now to his advantage; even though he was imprisoned for disrupting a separatist meeting in which Prussia was insulted, he is also familiar with the "front" in the field of domestic politics; his way of crossing swords with our opponents in foreign policy before the world is not unaffected by the school he went through in the field of dialectics when he once debated with communists and other seasoned people in small meeting halls.
Perhaps it was also a historical necessity that the terrible material and spiritual collapse came in 1918, sweeping away institutions that might later have stood in the way - without this collapse, the unification of the Reich across traditional national borders would not have been possible, the elimination of parliaments and parties would hardly have been possible, and a young, ruthless popular movement would not have been put in a position to eradicate this Jewish poison in all areas; thus, even the revolt of 1918 was part of that force which desires evil and creates good, for it enabled the coming Führer to rebuild from the ground up.

I also believe that some of the difficulties and dangers imposed on the new state in recent years has ultimately benefited us; I believe that the constant hope of an impending collapse as a result of these difficulties and dangers caused foreign states to hesitate again and again to attack us when we gradually broke away from the Treaty of Versailles, until they missed the moment when they could have done so without considerable risk to themselves.

The last hope was probably that the new Reich would fail economically—perhaps all the more likely to fail because its rearmament was proceeding at a pace and on a scale never before seen in history and which no one had ever thought possible; so-called experts abroad, who know only numbers, quantities, materials, and labor, did not take into account the elasticity of the German economy, and even more so, the elasticity of the German people, and in particular, they did not take into account—because it is beyond any concept of calculation—the great spiritual strength of our people, their great ability to restrict themselves, to even to make the heaviest sacrifices, when they know why they are restricting themselves and what they are making these sacrifices for - above all, they did not take into account what this people is capable of achieving when it has leaders in whom it has confidence in.

Our people trust their current leadership because at the head of this leadership stands a Führer who has proven in countless cases that he is truly a leader: a leader who has repeatedly found the right path and the way out; a leader who has used his energy to solve what seemed impossible; a leader who, from a people in complete collapse, whose resurgence no one in the world believed in anymore, whose resurgence this people themselves believed in least of all, a leader who, from this same people of hopelessness, self-destruction, and self-disgrace, has made a people that stands stronger and prouder than ever among the other nations!

The new Wehrmacht is worthy of this renewed people—the party is worthy of this renewed people. Together they work on the most beautiful and highest task that has ever been set for mankind - together they work for their nation, for Germany and its future."

“To the Women of America”

Sound film address at the invitation of the United States to the women of America, whose leaders had appeared as delegates of the women's organizations of the United States and Canada at the Fourth Women's Congress held in Chicago in March 1937.

“Ladies!
I am happy to accept a kind invitation from the United States and Canada to speak as a German to the women of the United States and Canada who are participating in the Fourth Women's Congress in Chicago; I was all the more pleased to accept this invitation because I am convinced that it promotes understanding between peoples when they have the opportunity to see and hear leading figures from foreign countries speak—even if only in a sound film.

You have set yourselves some serious problems to deal with, for one of your topics is: “America faces a changing world” - as a member of that world, let me say that, conversely, that the world also faces a changing America.
No one can prevent the whole world from changing, for these changes are the natural consequences of the severe upheavals to which the world has been exposed since the beginning of the Great War. Wise and energetic leaders of nations in various countries consider it their duty to ensure that the changes do not lead to chaos — as is the case in some parts of the world; they consider it their duty to steer changes in a reasonable direction so that they benefit the people.
In some countries, these attempts can already be considered successful today - in other countries, we can hope for success in the interests of the people.
Unfortunately, the great disorder that has come into the world has also disrupted relations between nations; the decline in international trade has exacerbated economic crises everywhere, and as a result of the global economic crisis and the loss of its export markets, Germany has been forced to become increasingly self-reliant economically.
However, Germany welcomes any ways of strengthening economic relations between nations again - it is prepared to support all efforts that serve this goal; it is all the more prepared to do so because it is convinced that, along with the exchange of goods between nations, cultural relations between nations will increase and mutual understanding will grow, and the more this understanding grows, the greater is the hope that a global catastrophe such as the last World War can be avoided in the future - it is my most fervent wish that you will find no need to address the question you also raised for the Congress, namely, what position America would take in the event of another World War.

In many European countries, former front-line soldiers are already in government; the vast majority of Germany's leadership is made up of former front-line soldiers, and the Führer, Adolf Hitler, is himself a veteran of the front, and I too spent four years at the front.
Believe me: we front-line soldiers have experienced all the suffering of war firsthand.
Believe me: we front-line soldiers do not want another war.
We front-line soldiers have only one wish, and that is to protect humanity from such a misfortune in the future - and for the sake of preserving peace, the front-line soldiers in the German government have drawn conclusions from the old insight that was recently put into words by an English statesman: “A large empire that is also a weak empire is a threat to world stability and a temptation for aggressors.”

Germany does not wish to threaten world stability or be a temptation for aggressors, for Germany, too, is "throwing its strength into the balance of peace."
We German front-line soldiers want, not least, to protect the women and mothers of our people from all the severe suffering, hardship, and deprivation that weighed upon them during the last war; the women of Germany are good comrades to their men and stand particularly close to them when it comes to fighting for peace.

I believe I am assessing the women of the American continent correctly when I say that I am convinced that they, too, will use their influence to spare the tormented people of the world from another war - with this in mind, I send you greetings from the German people and wish your congress every success."

“To the Denominational Typesetters”

From a speech at the Gautag in Karlsruhe on April 18th, 1937.

“This German unity that has finally been achieved will never be destroyed again - let those who still hope for the old German discord take note of this! Above all, let those who still hope to abuse the religiosity of our people for political purposes take note of this—just as they once abused this religiosity for political purposes!
We have not forgotten that parties cloaked in Christianity once went hand in hand with Marxist atheists and desecrators of German honor; we have not forgotten that they were in power when Germany was driven inexorably toward Bolshevism; we have not forgotten that they were among the most hateful opponents of National Socialism; we have not forgotten that they used all the means at their disposal—and these were not few and not weak, for at that time they ruled the state—that they fought with all means against the party that was the only one in Germany that was anti-Bolshevik in nature - they were the hateful opponents of the party that ultimately defeated the Bolshevik enemy of humanity, that defeated those who deny God on principle.

To those who even today still attack National Socialism, either covertly or openly, who have pamphlets against it read from the pulpit, we ask: have you forgotten that Bolshevism, the antipode of National Socialism, is transforming churches into cinemas and dance halls in Russia and Spain, defiling altars, burning down places of worship, and torturing priests, nuns, and monks; have you forgotten that the greatest honor Bolshevism can bestow is to name someone an “honorary godless person”; do the churches want to deny that they were and are powerless in the face of these actions; do they not see what millions see, that National Socialism has become a rock of strength against this scourge of humanity; do they not recognize that it was Hitler alone who transformed the people in Germany, who had been incited by Jewish Bolshevism, back into people of decent character and morals; can they deny that National Socialism has thus reawakened the good in people—the good on which faith in God flourishes?
Our people feel that God's blessing rests on the work of the Führer, that this blessing cannot be diminished by deluded people who are unable to recognize that God is with this people and with its struggle against the organized godlessness of Bolshevism!

The German people will continue on their path with inner unity, and they will continue and expand the great works of Christian charity, the National Socialist People's Welfare Organization, and Winter Relief; the German people will repeatedly prove their Christianity in action by working for peace at home and working for peace between nations, as they have done successfully so far under their Führer - the Germans want to go about their work in peace and create works in peace that their children and grandchildren can look upon with pride as witnesses to the great era of Adolf Hitler.”

“Doctors and Healing Methods”

Speech at the Twelfth International Homeopathic Congress in Berlin on August 9th, 1937.

“Ladies and gentlemen!
The new Germany considers it a political necessity that all phenomena be examined to determine the extent to which they can benefit the people - this principle must be applied in particular to methods of healing, for methods of healing have a direct influence on the basic conditions of life for the entire population through the preservation or restoration of the health of the individual.
It is well known that not only new healing methods, but also those that have their origins in the distant past – as is already the case with homeopathy today – are subject to hostility and rejection, even by individual doctors, without these doctors having subjected the healing methods to serious examination. However, doctors are the essential bearers of the healing arts; he is therefore primarily responsible for ensuring that all healing knowledge and all healing arts that can serve the health of the people are utilized - I have therefore assumed the patronage of the Twelfth International Homeopathic Congress in Berlin with the intention of expressing the interest of the National Socialist state in all healing methods that serve the health of the people. At the same time, I would like to call on the medical profession as a whole to examine healing methods that have been rejected or even opposed in the past without prejudice - it is necessary that this unbiased examination be carried out not only in theory, but above all in the practical results of the work of those who use methods of healing that differ from the generally accepted ones.

More than once, science, based solely on theory, has made judgments that were later proven absurd by practice; this was often only after a long time, after progress had been hampered for decades and great injustice had been done to highly deserving pioneers: I need only remind you of that famous case in your field of medicine in which, around a hundred years ago, a doctor established the doctrine of sepsis and asepsis in the fight against child bed fever and was therefore ridiculed and treated with hostility by his professional colleagues throughout his life; today, however, no one will dispute that this theory contains one of the most significant insights into the art of healing, which is now one of the self-evident foundations of medicine.
Insightful doctors, some of them well-known, have spoken openly in recent years about a crisis in medicine, about a dead end they have reached - it stands to reason then that the way out lies in directions that are closer to nature; after all, hardly any other science is as closely linked to nature as the science that deals with the healing of living beings. There are also increasingly strong calls not to lose sight of the whole in favor of the parts—a universal demand whose observance has already borne fruit in state policy. In the field of medicine, this demand means that, in order to heal a diseased organ, we must focus more than before on influencing the organism as a whole; homeopathy is a natural healing method that has always followed this path.

In recent years, Germany has provided proof of how it is possible to reconcile seemingly contradictory and mutually exclusive concepts and their effects - not so long ago, the assertion that nationalism and socialism should complement each other was met with severe attacks, scorn, and ridicule, yet today it has become self-evident to the entire German people that they do indeed complement each other; parallel to this political experience, I believe I can confidently predict that in the field of medicine, the time will come when homeopathy and allopathy will be seen not as mutually exclusive but as complementary,

indeed, that medicine will no longer be conceivable without the use of both healing methods; I would even go further and express the opinion that, in the not too distant future, the art of healing will gather and apply further insights to the experience and knowledge that allopathy and homeopathy provides, insights that are still scientifically under-researched today; this development will be a blessing for medicine, and thus for humanity.
In the hope that the Twelfth International Homeopathic Congress in Berlin in 1937 will contribute to bringing about a reconciliation in the sense of complementarity in the near future - I wish the congress every success in its work."

“Our Fate is Shared”

Excerpt from a speech to Germans abroad and seafarers on August 28th, 1937, in Stuttgart.

“My fellow Germans abroad, my German sailors!
The old homeland, which has become the new Germany, welcomes you with open arms and open hearts; it welcomes you as members not only of the German national community, but also of the great community of destiny, for our destiny is shared: with Germany's decline, your star also fell; as Germany fell into contempt, your reputation also waned. But now that the new Germany stands proud and strong before the world, you too can hold your heads high again when you profess your allegiance to Germany - Germany's honor is your honor!

I know how much you long to set foot on the soil of your homeland once again, and I know that everyone who is here now in the new Germany is filled with pride at all the new and great things they see, that all their expectations are being exceeded; I know that most of you would prefer to stay here, because you realize that no other country in the world is as beautiful as our Germany!
You will experience the Reich Party Congress as a manifestation of the purest and most concentrated National Socialism; you will see them march, the SA and SS men, the political leaders, the youth, the labor service men; you will get an idea of the proud new Wehrmacht! And if luck is on your side, you will see the man who raised Germany up when the world believed Germany was lost: you will see the man who saved Germany; you will see the man who created the concept of the Führer and, as the first Führer himself, used this concept to forge the strongest bond between Germany and all Germans around the world; you will see with your own eyes the man who will go down in German history as one of the greats.
When you, my fellow Germans abroad and my sailors, return to your work, when you return to foreign lands and to your ships, tell those outside that you have seen the land of your fathers, and that it is greater and prouder than you ever dreamed - go forth and report:

Germany will live,
because Adolf Hitler lives,
and because there is a God in Heaven
who is with Germany!”